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Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6943rd meeting
Thursday, 28 March 2013, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Churkin	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Perceval
	Australia	Ms. King
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	France	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Masood Khan
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Lee Kyung Chul
	Rwanda	Mr. Gasana
	Togo	Mr. Kandangha-Bariki
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Mr. DeLaurentis

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Special Report of the Secretary-General on the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region (S/2013/119)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Special report of the Secretary-General on the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region (S/2013/119)

The President (*spoke in Russian*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and la Francophonie of the Democratic Republic of the Council, His Excellency Mr. Raymond Tshibanda N'tungamulongo.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2013/195, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Togo and the United States of America. I also wish to draw Council members' attention to document S/2013/119, which contains the special report of the Secretary-General on the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Australia, Azerbaijan, China, France, Guatemala, Luxembourg, Morocco, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America

The President (*spoke in Russian*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2098 (2013).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Security Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gasana (Rwanda) (*spoke in French*): I welcome the presence in the Chamber of Mr. Raymond Tshibanda N'tungamulongo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and la Francophonie of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I take the floor on behalf of my Government to explain our vote on resolution 2098 (2013), which has just been adopted. I should also thank the delegation of France for preparing the resolution and conducting the negotiations on it. I should like also to thank all of the members of the Security Council for their very valuable contributions, which led to a significant improvement of the text.

Rwanda voted in favour of the resolution because we believe that it is an important instrument for the implementation of the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region, signed on 24 February in Addis Ababa under the initiative of the Secretary-General, to whom we would like to express our appreciation.

We applaud the creation of an Intervention Brigade within the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), which, as the Council will recall, is a regional initiative. We hope that the brigade will be able to support the Congolese Government in its efforts to strengthen its territorial integrity. We await with interest the operationalization of the Brigade and believe that it should bolster the peace process in the region, including the Kampala talks. It is therefore important that it focus on the negative forces that are active in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, especially the Forces démocratiques de !ibération du Rwanda (FDLR), which, let me recall here, are responsible for the genocide perpetrated in Rwanda against the Tutsis in 1994 and who made sexual violence into a weapon of war in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We would like also to recall that resolution 1925 (2010) mandated MONUSCO to promote strategies aimed at achieving a lasting settlement to the FDLR problem, especially through the repatriation, reintegration and reinstallation of the persons concerned to other regions, or judicial prosecution as appropriate. Unfortunately, despite some progress, that objective has not yet been met, and FLDR forces, which twice attacked Rwanda towards the end of last year, continue to pose a threat to Rwanda and to the region.

By deploying the Intervention Brigade, we underscore the need to ensure that the impartiality of the military component of MONUSCO and the protection of Blue Helmets not be endangered at any cost. We reiterate the importance of a clear separation between the role of the Intervention Brigade and that of the regular forces of MONUSCO, whose main purpose is to protect civilians, especially against sexual violence, which has reached alarming rates in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Rwanda remains committed to peace in the region, and it is in that context that we were one of the first supporters and one of the first countries signatory to the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region. We take this opportunity to express once again our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his pivotal role in the process, and we welcome the appointment of Mary Robinson as his Special Envoy for the Great Lakes region.

During the regional summit held last weekend in Oyo, Republic of the Congo, Presidents Denis Sassou Nguesso, Joseph Kabila, Yoweri Museveni and Paul Kagame reaffirmed their commitment to the implementation of the Framework and of all of the decisions adopted at the various summits held at the level of heads of State of the International Conference on the Great Lakes region on the security situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. That is a sign that the region has mobilized for peace, security and cooperation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and we hope that the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with the support of the region and the international community, will be able to carry out the reforms necessary to ensure the success of the process.

Rwanda reiterates its support for the efforts made by the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region and of its Chairman, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, which led, inter alia, to a ceasefire between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Mouvement du 23 Mars (M-23), and to the Kampala talks.

We welcome the use of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that cooperation among regional and subregional organizations cannot take place selectively. We therefore ask the Security Council to always bear in mind the decisions of the African Union and regional organizations during its deliberations on peace and security on the continent.

However, we would recall the Security Council's consistent rejection of a military solution. We condemn anti-constitutional changes of Government, and we underscore the promotion of an inclusive dialogue and the peaceful settlement of disputes, enshrined in doctrine by the Council. It is therefore important that the position of the Council with regard to armed groups opposed to a legitimate Government be constant and consistent.

Rwanda, above and beyond its regional responsibilities, has also met its international obligations. As the Council is aware, we facilitated the transfer of the prisoner Bosco Ntaganda to the International Criminal Court, and we are cooperating with the United Nations and other international organizations to ensure that the 672 M-23 combatants who fled to Rwanda on 16 March 2013, including individuals subject to United Nations sanctions, be demobilized and treated in keeping with international law.

To conclude, we call once again on the Security Council and all of its member States to endorse without reservation the Framework agreement, the regional process of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region and the individual and collective efforts of the countries of the region. We hope that following the adoption of this significant resolution, the Council will finally be able to free itself from preconceived notions from the past, distance itself from the policy of scapegoating and support the efforts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the countries of the region to restore peace, security and stability to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region, thereby making it possible for the Congolese Government to tackle the deep-seated causes of the conflict in that country.

Mr. Rosenthal (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): Guatemala voted in favor of resolution 2098 (2013), just adopted. We did so in part owing to our unwavering commitment to the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), in which Guatemala has participated since March 2005. We were moved to do also out of respect and admiration for the diplomatic work undertaken by the Secretary-General, as well as for the leadership of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, the African Union and the Southern African Development Community, all of

which gave rise to the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region.

Nevertheless, we wish to place on record some of our concerns — concerns that caused us to waver in joining the consensus and that have not yet been fully dissipated — with regard to the resolution just adopted. There are three concerns.

First, we still have serious difficulties in terms of the involvement of the United Nations in peace-enforcement activities, as such activities may compromise the neutrality and impartiality that we deem so essential to the Organization's peacekeeping activities. As a matter of principle, we believe that, when domestic armed groups challenge the host-country State, the United Nations mission must offer its goods offices, mediate and even take a proactive stance in resolving the dispute. But its presence should be perceived by all parties as that of an honest broker, not a potential party to the conflict.

In this instance, we understood the reasons for and the logic behind the Secretary-General's proposal to deploy a dedicated specialized Intervention Brigade to be established within MONUSCO. We would have preferred, however, that the Brigade, mandated with offensive capabilities, be defined as a self-contained unit with specific responsibilities, clearly distinguishable from the mandates of the other MONUSCO brigades, which would then be entrusted with the more conventional duties of robust peacekeeping operations, including the protection of civilians.

We are concerned that the entire MONUSCO runs the risk of indirectly becoming a peace enforcement mission. That would raise many conceptual, operational and legal considerations that, in our view, have not been adequately explored in the course of negotiating the text. We trust that we will have the opportunity to undertake that in-depth analysis in the future with all the actors involved, including, of course, the troop-contributing countries.

That brings me to our second concern, which is more procedural in nature. The resolution is very complex, and we feel that not enough time was devoted to properly considering all its various angles. While a sense of urgency is understandable given the changing situation on the ground, we feel that Council members should have had more time to express and resolve their concerns.

Our third concern is related to the broad public support that peacekeeping has enjoyed to date among Guatemalan public opinion, which is something that we greatly value. In that context, it should be recalled that it is little more than seven years since our country lost eight MONUSCO personnel in Garamba National Park in the Democratic Republic of the Congo while they were implementing its mandate. We could have expected an outcry from the Guatemalan people, questioning why our troops had to sacrifice their lives in such a far-off country that is virtually unknown to our citizens. But that did not happen. Our people understood that peacekeeping is a noble activity wherever it takes place and that, by contributing to peacekeeping, Guatemala was making a contribution to all humankind. However, we are not sure that our country would be similarly understanding were more of our soldiers to make the ultimate sacrifice combating insurgents in a distant country while trying to undertake a role that clearly falls to the national army of that country. That is why we insist that we wish to separate, as far as possible, the mandate of the Intervention Brigade and the activities appropriate to a robust United Nations peacekeeping mission.

In conclusion, we wish to thank our colleagues in the Security Council for having adequately taken into account the concerns that I have mentioned to make our vote in favour possible today.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom welcomes the adoption of resolution 2098 (2013) and thanks France for its role in leading the negotiations on it.

The United Kingdom joins the broader international community in welcoming the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region as an opportunity for the Democratic Republic of the Congo to enter a period of lasting peace and increased prosperity, in which civilians can go about their lives in safety, justice is done and seen to be done, the women of the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo no longer need to fear sexual violence and children are protected from the impact of conflict.

The resolution is an important step in that direction. The signatories to the Framework must now play their part by meeting their commitments. The Council, too, must play its part in providing the long-term and sustained oversight on the Democratic Republic of the

Congo that has too often been lacking on our part. In that regard, we welcome the appointment of President Mary Robinson as Special Envoy to the Great Lakes Region. Those are all vital elements of a comprehensive approach to addressing the root causes of the crisis in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Renewing the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), with the inclusion of an Intervention Brigade, is an important means by which the United Nations contributes to the realization of that vision. By doing so, the Security Council and the United Nations has moved into new territory. For it to succeed, it will be important for the whole Mission, including all its troop contingents, whether they are a part of the Intervention Brigade or not, to be willing and able to fully implement the whole of the Mission's mandate. It is one Mission with one mandate, one Special Representative and one Force Commander.

The work of a peacekeeping force relies on the generosity of those countries that contribute their troops. The dedication of military expertise does not come without a cost to those nations. We recognize the sacrifices made by them in the pursuit of their duties, in full delivery of the Mission's Chapter VII mandate and in carrying out MONUSCO's top priority, which is the protection of civilians. We strongly support the troop-contributing countries in undertaking that work.

United Nations peacekeeping has come a long way. Years of experience have led to the development of methods that fully integrate the work undertaken by the civilian and the military components of a peacekeeping operation. Resolution 2086 (2013), adopted in January, sets out the need for that integrated approach to peacekeeping. We therefore expect MONUSCO to conduct all its tasks in an integrated manner, while making the best use of its civilian, police and military capabilities and acting under a unified leadership. MONUSCO's peacekeepers must follow a comprehensive and multidimensional approach whether or not they wear uniforms. That is the recipe for successful peacekeeping.

In that context, we welcome the work mandated by the resolution to set out the division of labour between MONUSCO and the United Nations country team. That will inform a much-needed road map on the transfer of tasks from the Mission. It will play an important role in guiding the way forward for the United Nations family to work together to build peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mrs. Perceval (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to extend a special welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and la Francophonie of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Argentina joined the consensus on resolution 2098 (2013) for three main reasons.

The first reason is the concern among the international community about the ongoing deterioration of the humanitarian situation owing to the armed violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the need to ensure the protection of human rights and international humanitarian law, the rule of law and an end to impunity, in particular in the eastern part of the country. Those objectives are clearly set out in the resolution we have just adopted, which calls on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to play a central role.

Secondly, the resolution responds to the request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and has the support of the countries of the region. Argentina believes those two aspects, namely, national ownership and respect for regional initiatives, to be key not only in the area of peacekeeping operations but also in the Security Council's consideration of any action that it takes in the context of its primary responsibility, that is, to maintain international peace and security.

Thirdly, we also underscore the fact that, in the resolution, the tasks of the military contingents are separated from those of the Mission's civilian components. That underscores the importance of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the countries of the region cooperating with the International Criminal Court in order to bring to justice the perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity in the country.

Our agreement on those points does not mean that we do not harbour some concerns and well-founded doubts as to the establishment of the Intervention Brigade, in particular with regard to its ability to use force in offensive actions, even though paragraph 9 of resolution 2098 (2013) refers to that decision as being "on an exceptional basis and without creating a precedent or any prejudice to the agreed principles of peacekeeping".

We believe that the consultations that preceded the adoption of the resolution were not as inclusive or as in-depth as called for by a resolution of this kind. In that regard, with a view to the future and in a constructive attitude, Argentina believes that we will also be responsible for ensuring that this does not have an unfavourable impact on the very concept and principles of neutrality and impartiality with regard to peacekeeping missions.

I reiterate that we believe that we are facing a conceptual change of the traditional understanding of peacekeeping operations. The inclusion of a peace-enforcement dimension in the concept of peacekeeping, even when justified under the circumstances, requires in-depth consideration and responsible action. Faced with that challenge, I emphasize that more than one week of negotiations would have been needed so that all the concerns of the members of the Council could have been reasonably addressed, including consultations with the entire membership and, in particular, with the major troop-contributing countries, not only those contributing to MONUSCO but of the entire Organization, taking into account the new tasks that could be called for and the impact that this decision may have on the entire system of peacekeeping.

Lastly, in the context of the new offensive mandate that is being established, it is also important to us that it has been made abundantly clear that the first and foremost priority of MONUSCO is, and must be, to protect civilians. That clear interpretation has allowed countries such as Argentina to join the consensus on the resolution.

Ms. Lucas (Luxembourg) (*spoke in French*): We welcome the adoption of resolution 2098 (2013), drafted on France's initiative, barely one month following the adoption of the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region.

The new mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) reflects the international community's commitment to addressing the underlying causes of the conflict in the eastern part of that country and to bringing to an end to the recurring cycle of violence. The strengthening of MONUSCO provided for in the resolution will support the political process put in place by the Framework Agreement. As the Secretary-General has underscored, there is no military solution to the problems affecting the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region.

The protection of civilians must remain the main pillar of the Mission's mandate. In that regard, we welcome the provisions for the protection of children and the fight against sexual violence.

The resolution we have just adopted entrusts MONUSCO with a peace-enforcement mandate in order to neutralize armed groups. The Intervention Brigade to be part of MONUSCO will have a key role to play in that regard. Moreover, MONUSCO should actively support the Congolese authorities and coordinate the efforts of the country's partners in reforming the security sector, which is an issue to which we attach great importance.

Lastly, we deem it important that MONUSCO carry out the entire host of tasks entrusted to it by this resolution in a comprehensive manner and by fully exploiting its civilian, military and police capacities, under the direction of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

Mr. Masood Khan (Pakistan): We welcome the presence of the honourable Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the Council.

Pakistan fully supports the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region, which lays the foundation for durable peace in the region. We commend the role and important contribution of regional and subregional organizations, including the Southern African Development Community and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, towards peace and security in the region. We particularly appreciate the mediation role of the Secretary-General, and we express our full support for his comprehensive approach towards a political solution to the recurring cycles of instability in the region by addressing the underlying causes.

Over the years, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) has been a stabilizing factor in the country. It has made vital contributions to the protection of civilians, in line with its mandate. The Mission's continued presence in the Democratic

Republic of the Congo is an important part of the new comprehensive approach.

The collective goal of the Security Council and the international community should be to build the capacity of Congolese national security institutions for the progressive and time-bound transfer of responsibility to the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. That will enable the Government to assume its primary responsibility to maintain peace and security in the eastern part of the country and to bring war criminals and fugitives to justice.

Before the negotiations on resolution 2098 (2013), we had several reservations. However, through intense engagements, a number of those concerns have been addressed. Our interpretation of this resolution with regard to the Intervention Brigade is as follows.

The resolution clearly states, in paragraph 9, that the establishment of the Intervention Brigade is "on an exceptional basis and without creating a precedent or any prejudice to the agreed principles of peacekeeping". The resolution clearly defines the goals and tasks of the Intervention Brigade and outlines its exit strategy, which focuses on building the capacity of a Congolese rapid-reaction force that would take over the tasks of the Intervention Brigade. Moreover, the resolution clearly outlines the respective tasks of the Intervention Brigade and its regular forces, including the associated mission concept, the concept of operations and the rules of engagement. The text also lays particular emphasis on deterring any attacks against peacekeeper and underlines the need for strengthening the security of United Nations personnel.

Pakistan remains fully committed to the basic principles of peacekeeping, including the consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force, except in self-defence and defence of the mandate. Deployed in one of the most restive regions in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Pakistani peacekeepers are an integral part of the Mission and have played an important role in the effective discharge of the Mission's mandate.

Notwithstanding our continuing concerns and reservations with regard to the concept of the Intervention Brigade and its possible implications for the safety and security of peacekeepers, we supported the resolution as an expression of our commitment to peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the wider region. We will continue to support the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and to stand by its people in their quest for security and stability.

Mr. Loulichki (Morocco) (*spoke in French*): I would like, first of all, to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and la Francophonie of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Morocco welcomes the adoption of resolution 2098 (2013), with the hope that it can open up genuine prospects for the restoration of peace and emergence of a prosperous and stable future in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the entire Great Lakes region.

The Council wished, through this resolution, to streamline and strengthen the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), in order to enable it to remain current and to support the recent positive developments in the region, including the signing of the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region thanks to the good offices of the Secretary-General and the political will and commitment of the countries of the region. The resolution also seeks to adapt MONUSCO's mandate to the political, military and humanitarian realities on the ground in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

By adopting this resolution, the Council has also favourably responded to the call launched jointly and in a spirit of solidarity by the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region for the establishment of an Intervention Brigade operating within MONUSCO. Morocco welcomes this decision, which responds to a specific and exceptional request aimed at addressing the alarming security, military and humanitarian situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We believe that that approach, which was requested by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, is the appropriate one to take while awaiting the strengthening of the Congolese security forces, in particular through the establishment of a rapid-reaction force, as stipulated in the resolution. We hope that that force will be able to quickly take up the tasks of the United Nations Brigade.

By voting in favour of resolution 2098 (2013), the Kingdom of Morocco, as a troop-contributing country

to MONUSCO, wishes to reiterate its commitment to the founding principles that govern peacekeeping operations. In the coming stages, and as the United Nations undertakes the implementation of this resolution, we call for the troop- and police-contributing countries to be consulted on a regular basis so as to achieve optimal synergy between all the component elements of MONUSCO, especially between the regular forces and the Intervention Brigade. Similarly, the selection of the forces that will make up the Intervention Brigade and its command structure seems to us of determining importance to ensure efficient and consistent action by the United Nations on the ground.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I welcome the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Chinese delegation voted in favour of resolution 2098 (2013), which the Council just adopted. China is seriously concerned about the worsening security and humanitarian situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and is deeply worried about the serious consequences that it has for regional peace and security.

We strongly support the efforts made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in maintaining national sovereignty, territorial integrity, security and stability, and we commend the United Nations, the African Union and the relevant regional organizations for their positive role in addressing the problems in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We hope that the parties concerned will, as called for in resolution 2098 (2013), take effective measures to implement the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region. We hope that the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) will continue to strengthen its efforts in communicating and coordinating with the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and strictly abide by its mandate, as conferred by the Council, so as to make a greater contribution to the long-term peace and security of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

China believes that the three peacekeeping principles of the United Nations, including the consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force, except in self-defence and in defence of the mandate, provide an important guarantee for the success of United Nations peacekeeping operations. They have been widely supported by the vast majority of developing countries and therefore should continue to be adhered to. At the same time, we have always supported the efforts made by African countries and regional organizations to maintain regional peace and security. We therefore attach great importance to the request by the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the relevant regional organizations in Africa for the deployment of the Intervention Brigade and the adjustment of the mandate of MONUSCO. In view of what I have just mentioned, China agrees on an exceptional basis to the deployment of an Intervention Brigade within MONUSCO. Under the terms of this resolution, the deployment of this Intervention Brigade does not constitute any precedent, nor does it affect the continued adherence of the United Nations to the peacekeeping principles.

Mr. DeLaurentis (United States of America): Following the signing of the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region, we find ourselves at a key turning point in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The framework process, which included a personal engagement from Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, has breathed new life into efforts to find a durable peace in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where over 5 million have lost their lives since 1998.

In the light of the renewed commitments from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, its neighbours and the international community laid out in the Framework, the Security Council has acted today to ensure that the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) supports the Framework agreement in its efforts to address the root causes of the conflict.

Given the introduction of the Intervention Brigade, the United States has been particularly mindful of the need to set MONUSCO up for success by streamlining the other tasks that MONUSCO, particularly its military component, are tasked to do. We underscore today that efforts to protect civilians and neutralize armed groups must remain at the forefront of tasks for MONUSCO and are duties that MONUSCO peacekeepers must do their utmost to perform. We recognize the need for continued coordination with the civilian side in those efforts, particularly to ensure the protection of children and women and to prevent the continuation of

the horrible streak of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In that regard, we fully support MONUSCO's continued role in human rights monitoring, which we see as a key part of protecting civilians.

The Security Council has demonstrated its commitment to achieving peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo by authorizing the intervention brigade today. We call on the Democratic Republic of the Congo Government to meet its commitment to the parameters in the Framework, particularly in implementing credible security sector reform. We also call on the neighbours of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to meet their commitments in the Framework agreement.

As we look ahead, we welcome the Secretary-General's appointment of Mary Robinson as his Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region and will support her efforts to craft and ensure the implementation of a political process that complements the work of MONUSCO to bring lasting peace to the citizens of the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and la Francophonie of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We welcome the unanimous adoption of resolution 2089 (2013), which France submitted to the Council. The resolution complements the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region, signed 24 February, and creates a link between the commitments of the countries of the region and the situation on the ground in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The content of the resolution reflects the recommendations set forth by the Secretary-General in his report (S/2013/119) and addresses the expectations of the States and regional organizations of the region.

At the political level, the resolution recalls the necessity for the signatories to the Framework agreement to implement the commitments that they have undertaken. It appoints the new Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region, Mary Robinson. France commends her appointment and calls upon her and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) to keep the Security Council informed of the status of the implementation of the Framework agreement. The Security Council underlines that, in case of any violation of the commitments, it will be prepared to take the necessary measures.

With respect to the situation on the ground, the resolution sets out measures to reduce the threat posed by armed groups to civilians. It allows, for the first time, for the deployment of an Intervention Brigade with an offensive mandate in order to prevent the armed groups from expanding and to neutralize and disarm them with a view to finally bringing about a stabilization of the situation in eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The resolution also clarifies that MONUSCO is effectively charged with monitoring the eastern border of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Those tasks do not change, however, the core of MONUSCO's mandate, which remains above all a peacekeeping operation tasked primarily with protecting civilians, a concern that affects all of the text's provisions.

With respect to the Intervention Brigade's activities, the resolution stresses that MONUSCO must seek to contain the threat to civilians before, during and after all military operations. It will also continue to guarantee respect for human rights, as that is still at the core of its mandate. The Intervention Brigade will necessarily work in full compliance with international humanitarian law and human rights law and respect United Nations human rights policy.

MONUSCO can also help stabilize the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo by arresting those who commit atrocities against civilians and who are wanted, in particular by international criminal justice bodies. That is why this new mandate now asks MONUSCO to support — and, more importantly, work with — the Congolese authorities and the International Criminal Court to arrest those criminals.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Russian Federation.

Russia supported the adoption of resolution 2098 (2013) and welcomed the signing, on 24 February in Addis Ababa, of the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes Region as an important step in resolving the crisis in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We also supported the proposal of the Secretary-General for modifying

the currently deployed United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) peacekeeping contingent and its reconfiguring so as to achieve a qualitative breakthrough in combating anti-governmental groups in the eastern part of the country.

Moreover, it was important to us that the mandate of the future brigade and the remaining contingents of the Mission be carefully limited. That provides the opportunity to observe the basic United Nations peacekeeping principles on supporting peace, rather than forcing or imposing peace, and to ensure the security of peacekeepers.

However, we feel that the fundamental responsibility to resolve the situation is borne by the Congolese Government itself. There is a need to comprehensively reform the security sector, bolster the capacity of the national army, which, in the end, must undertake all responsibilities for the protection of civilians, and ensure the territorial integrity of the country. An important step in reinstating stability in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region as a whole was the transfer, on 24 March, of Bosco Ntaganda and his referral to the International Criminal Court in The Hague. That will help promote a settlement of the root causes of the conflict, including the elimination of the culture of impunity, in particular with respect to those responsible for atrocities and crimes against humanity.

In conclusion, I would like to underscore that Russia will continue to provide support to the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in resolving the tasks before it.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I now give the floor to the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mr. Tshibanda N'tungamulongo (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): As the Russian presidency of the Council comes to a close, allow me to express my appreciation to you, Sir, for the important work that has been done, and tell you that my country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, felt honoured to see the Russian Federation, a friendly country, leading the Council's deliberations throughout the month of March. I would also like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak at this Council meeting devoted to the reconfiguration of the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). I would also like to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his personal involvement in mobilizing the leaders of the Great Lakes region and Southern Africa for the signing of the Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region, signed in Addis Ababa on 24 February. That agreement lays the foundation, for the first time, for a lasting peace in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and for peaceful coexistence between it and its neighbours, especially those to its east.

Finally, I would like to express to the Council the appreciation of the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the efforts by the United Nations for more than 15 years now to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and to ensure peace and stability there.

By deciding to deploy an Intervention Brigade with an offensive mandate in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to neutralize all the harmful forces that are committing the worst atrocities against civilians, the Council has decided to take a significant and innovative approach to traditional peacekeeping mechanisms. Thanks to that decision, the United Nations has once again proven its active solidarity with those who suffer the horrors of war, as is sadly the case in my country. It has also shown its unwavering determination and an increasingly resolute commitment to work for peace and security in the world, in accordance with the tasks assigned to it under the Charter of the United Nations.

Given that renewed commitment by the Organization, the Democratic Republic of the Congo reaffirms its determination to fulfil its commitments under the Framework and welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to visit the region soon to undertake an initial assessment.

In that context, we intend to continue with greater determination the efforts already undertaken in the context of rebuilding and strengthening the State, particularly the work on the reform of the security sector. That is an even easier task now that the appropriate legal framework is in place, with the recent adoption of the key laws that are required, namely, those concerning the organization and functioning of

the armed forces and the Congolese national police, and those on the status of the staff of those two bodies.

The situation that has prevailed in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo for nearly two decades has resulted in millions of deaths, millions of internally displaced persons, hundreds of thousands of refugees and countless victims of abuse, attacks, rape and other unspeakable violations of human rights that particularly affect vulnerable populations, that is, women and children.

Throughout this long period, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has spared no effort in promoting peace and seeking to eradicate the armed groups, which are those primarily responsible for disturbing the peace.

Faced with this almost existential challenge, the United Nations has been the most loyal, constant and decisive partner our country could have. Witness the joint operations between the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo and the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) in 2004 and 2005; Operations Kimia I and Kimia II, in 2008 and 2009, respectively, with MONUC's support; Operation Amani Leo, with the support of MONUSCO, from 2010 to 2012, and the active involvement of first MONUC and then MONUSCO in repatriating to their own countries those elements of the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda who opted for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process.

Despite the encouraging results of that cooperation, which would not have been possible without the invaluable contribution of the troop-contributing countries, to whom we are grateful, it has become clear over time that the unprecedented human drama that the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has undergone is an exceptional situation that demands exceptional measures if we are ever to be able to definitively put an end to the hellish continuing cycle of conflict in that part of the country. That is the historic idea and importance of the Council's decision today to create the Intervention Brigade within MONUSCO and under its command, and with MONUSCO's own mandate strengthened from now on. There can be no more eloquent expression of the international community's determination to settle once and for all the issue of the negative forces, with no exceptions, in the Great Lakes region.

We dare to believe that a new age is beginning in this martyred part of Africa, one of respect for the rule of law and human rights, of peaceful coexistence among communities and States, of security and stability for all, and of regional cooperation and lasting development. In that context, considering the role played by the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region in implementing the Framework agreement, the Democratic Republic of the Congo welcomes the appointment of Ms. Mary Robinson to that important post. I would like to assure the Council that she will receive all of our support and our full collaboration.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate the gratitude of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the unanimous adoption of resolution 2098 (2013), reconfiguring MONUSCO's mandate and establishing the Intervention Brigade. May its deployment come as soon as possible. The life and dignity of the men, women and children of North Kivu, South Kivu, Ituri and North Katanga depend on it, as does the credibility of the Organization.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): This meeting is probably the last of the month. On behalf of our delegation, I would like to express our sincere gratitude to the members of the Council, especially my colleagues the Permanent Representatives and their staffs, as well as to the Secretariat, for the support they have given us during Russia's presidency. It has indeed been a busy month, and one in which we succeeded in reaching consensus on several important issues within our purview. We could not have achieved those results alone or without the hard work of support and constructive cooperation by every delegation and the representatives of the Secretariat, as well as the interpreters, translators, meeting services staff and sound engineers.

As we end our presidency, I know I speak on behalf of the Council in wishing the Rwandan delegation success in the month of April. I am sure that the same goes for every member of the Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6944

Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6944th meeting
Wednesday, 3 March 2013, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Gasana	(Rwanda)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Perceval
	Australia	Mr. Quinlan
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Tian Lin
	France	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Munir
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Kim Sook
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Togo	Mr. Kandangha-Bariki
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Parham
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

The situation in Mali

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mali (S/2013/189)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

13-27895 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the outgoing President

The President: I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Vitaly Churkin, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of March 2013. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing our appreciation to Ambassador Churkin and his team for the great diplomatic skill with which they conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Mali

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mali (S/2013/189)

The President: Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Côte d'Ivoire and Mali to participate in this meeting.

Under rule of 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Jeffrey Feltman, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2013/189, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mali.

I now give the floor to Mr. Feltman.

Mr. Feltman: I thank the Security Council for this opportunity to introduce the Secretary-General's latest report on the situation in Mali (S/2013/189), as well as to update the Council on some of the most important political and security developments in the country. Ensuring that the United Nations does its utmost to help Mali resolve the complex crisis it faces today is one of the highest priorities of the Secretary-General. That commitment is reflected in the important work already under way on the ground in Mali — whether political, humanitarian or in support of the security process — as well as in the options presented in the current report.

The most significant development in the political process remains the adoption in January of a road map for the transition, which highlights two priority tasks for the transitional Government, namely, the restoration of territorial integrity and the organization of free and fair elections. The road map also provides for the reform of the armed forces and for dialogue with groups that renounce terrorism and adhere to the unitary nature of Mali and its Constitution.

Furthermore, the transitional Government has established the National Commission for Dialogue and Reconciliation. On 30 March, interim President Dioncounda Traoré appointed Mr. Mohamed Salia Sokona, a former Minister of Defence, as Chair of the Commission, and Ms. Traoré Oumou Touré and Mr. Meti Ag Mohamed Rhissa as its two Vice-Chairs. The appointment of a woman and a Tuareg as vice-chairs of the Commission is consistent with the transitional authorities' repeated assurances that inclusiveness and plurality would be the foundation blocks of the political process moving forward.

The United Nations will provide all the assistance it possibly can to the Commission and will continue to support the mediation efforts by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In that regard, the United Nations Office in Mali (UNOM) is providing good offices aimed at facilitating contacts between the Government and those groups that wish to take part in the search for a political solution to the crisis, while the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for West Africa (UNOWA) continues to coordinate closely with and support regional efforts spearheaded by ECOWAS. In my own conversation with Malian Foreign Minister Coulibaly two days ago, I underscored the Secretary-General's commitment to providing appropriate support to the political process, and to the National Commission in particular, which the Foreign Minister welcomed.

Strengthening the capacity and legitimacy of the State and the political system at all levels remains a key priority for the United Nations and for political leaders in Mali. The coup d'état of 22 March 2012 and the crisis in Mali are, in large measure, manifestations of a crisis of governance that encompasses endemic corruption, weak State capacity to provide basic services and the low level of legitimacy of State institutions and the political system. We hope that a broad and inclusive Malian-led political process can begin to address those long-term challenges that must be overcome for Mali

to achieve long-term political stability and economic prosperity.

While humanitarian access has improved in some parts of the country, the situation remains highly volatile, particularly in Timbuktu and Gao. Currently, more than 470,000 people are estimated to have fled and sought refuge either in Malian host communities or in neighbouring countries. More than 290,000 people are internally displaced, and about 177,000 are refugees in Mauritania, the Niger and Burkina Faso. Some 750,000 people are in need of immediate food assistance, and 660,000 children are at risk of malnutrition in 2013, including 210,000 at risk of severe acute malnutrition. Access to basic social services is limited in particular in the north; in the regions of Timbuktu and Gao, for example, only 50,000 out of 200,000 pupils have access to education.

The United Nations is monitoring the human rights situation, in particular reported serious violations in northern Mali, including summary executions and illegal arrests and the destruction and looting of property. Although arbitrary acts of violence against Tuaregs and Arabs have recently decreased, there is still a risk of reprisal against members of those communities who are alleged to be associated with the armed groups. Worryingly, it appears from reports that new patterns of human rights violations have emerged, including retaliatory attacks based on ethnicity. The Human Rights Council appointed a special rapporteur on Mali earlier this month, and UNOM's human rights team is rapidly expanding, with a view to deploying mobile teams to Mopti, Gao and Timbuktu as soon as security conditions permit. In meetings and conversations with United Nations officials, authorities in Bamako have repeatedly stated their commitment to international human rights standards and practices.

As outlined in the report, there have been significant security improvements in Mali as a result of the French and African military operations alongside the Malian army in northern areas. I want to repeat here the appreciation of the Secretary-General for the rapid and decisive action taken by the French, African and Malian forces. Already by the end of January, State control had been restored in most major northern towns thanks to the efforts of Malians and other African forces, with critical support from French troops. The redeployment of civilian authorities has started in Timbuktu and Gao.

Despite the real and significant gains on the ground stemming from the efforts of French, African, and Malian forces, the security situation remains challenging. Combat continues with armed groups in the Adrar des Ifoghas mountains and in the periphery of some urban centres — Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal. More fighting occurred in Timbuktu this weekend. Humanitarian partners are reporting an increase in criminality around Timbuktu. Armed groups are proving to be mobile in the combat areas, and there have been reported cases of infiltration in urban zones, including Bamako. The continued planting of mines is hampering humanitarian activities, while also endangering civilians.

In the interplay between political and security priorities, it is of critical importance to ensure that the security imperative does not detract from the primacy of politics in Mali, in both the short and long term. In addition to national dialogue, multiple dialogues need to take place between and within communities and between various actors, including the Malian armed forces. Dialogue and reconciliation efforts must also be linked to justice measures to ensure that there is no impunity for the human rights violations that have been perpetrated.

The Head of UNOM, Mr. David Gressly, accompanied by a small team, visited Timbuktu, Gao, Kidal and Tessalit from 29 to 31 March. He met with a wide spectrum of people, the majority of whom expressed a strong desire for constructive dialogue and reconciliation, as well as the demand for accountability for the crimes and abuses committed during the current crisis.

Mr. Gressly learned about the return of the Governors of Timbuktu and Gao, with whom he met. That is an important first step in the restoration of State authority to those regions. According to Malian authorities, that will be followed by the re-establishment of justice and security services, as well as other organs of civil administration at the regional and local levels. We are encouraging the Malian authorities to implement a more rapid deployment of civilian authorities, including of the gendarmerie and civilian police.

As Council Members are aware, President Traoré has indicated the transitional Government's intention to hold elections by 31 July. We are encouraged by President Traoré's commitment to moving rapidly toward elections, a fundamental benchmark in restoring the constitutional order in Mali. In our view, the declarations by leaders of the transitional Government not to stand in those elections further

demonstrate the authorities' commitment to free and fair elections. Mindful of how much work is required to meet the July deadline set by President Traoré, the United Nations has offered its support for the holding of free, fair, transparent and credible polls in keeping with international standards.

We encourage all those committed to an inclusive and fair electoral process to help address some of the conditions required for successful voting. Areas of concern include, on the security side, the still volatile security conditions in northern Mali and, on the political side, the absence so far of reconciliation, which limits space for constructive political debate. We hope that ongoing security operations, as well as the appointment of the National Commission, will help overcome those difficulties and create the essential conditions for credible elections. We agree fully with the Malian authorities that a legitimate Government reflecting the will of Mali's diverse population needs to be in place by the end of 2013, and we encourage continued consultations among Malian actors to achieve that goal. The Secretary-General is firmly committed to the United Nations doing its part to support that objective.

The United Nations has strengthened its support for the planning and preparations for the deployment and operations of the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA). United Nations military planners have provided planning support to AFISMA, helped in establishing coordination mechanisms, assisted AFISMA and the Malian armed forces in identifying priority needs, and supported the development of key documents for AFISMA, including operational directives, guidelines for the protection of civilians, rules of engagement and a code of conduct. Planning support is also being provided to AFISMA's police component. The United Nations works in close cooperation with the African Union, ECOWAS and other partners in supporting AFISMA, including through coordination mechanisms in both Bamako and Addis Ababa. Support has also been provided to ECOWAS meetings of chiefs of defence staff, aimed at ensuring the eventual smooth transition from AFISMA to a potential United Nations stabilization force.

As Council Members are aware, the Secretary-General deployed a multidisciplinary exploratory mission to Mali from 10 to 16 March to develop recommendations on options for establishing a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Mali. I will highlight the key observations and recommendations that the Secretary-General has made in his report. One is that the serious and interlinked challenges that confront Mali require the concerted and broad-based efforts of the authorities and people of Mali, together with significant international support. They go beyond addressing security threats and require tackling deep-rooted political, governance, development and humanitarian challenges that are not susceptible to any easy solution.

With respect to the security challenges, the report says that a key question is the extent to which the United Nations can or should assume responsibility for security and stabilization, which ultimately will need to serve as an incentive to engage in a viable political process. The report notes that humanitarian actors have raised increasing concerns about the possible deployment of a United Nations force in Mali and the need to retain a clear distinction between the humanitarian and the political/security agendas in order to ensure the impartiality of humanitarian action, avoid threatening the safety of aid workers, and guarantee humanitarian access to all those in need.

The Secretary-General has proposed two options for United Nations engagement in Mali. Under either option, the United Nations would maintain a strong focus on the political aspects linked to the creation of suitable conditions for elections and reconciliation. Under the first option, a United Nations multidimensional, integrated political presence would operate alongside AFISMA. The United Nations would continue its political and human rights activities under a strengthened political mission. The strategic areas of focus under that option would include good offices support for mediation and national and community dialogues, assistance to the electoral process, the promotion of respect for human rights, including with respect to women and children, and support for AFISMA.

Under the first option, AFISMA would be responsible for security, together with bilateral military efforts, in support of the Malian defence and security forces. AFISMA would also have an offensive combat and stabilization mandate focusing on extremist armed groups. The United Nations, in conjunction with other partners, would help build the operational capability of AFISMA through the Trust Fund in support of AFISMA and possibly through a Security Council-authorized logistics support package funded through assessed contributions. In parallel, the European Union

would continue to train the Malian armed forces. Support could also be provided to the Malian defence and security forces through the Trust Fund for Peace and Security in Mali. That option would provide the flexibility for the rehatting of AFISMA to a United Nations peacekeeping operation when the Council decides the conditions are right.

The second option involves the establishment of a United Nations multidimensional, integrated stabilization mission under a Chapter VII mandate, alongside a parallel force. In addition to a political mandate, the mission would carry out security-related stabilization tasks, protect civilians and create the conditions for the provision of humanitarian assistance. The mission would operate under robust rules of engagement with a mandate to use all necessary means to address threats to the implementation of its mandate. That could include the conduct of operations independently of or in cooperation with the Malian defence and security forces.

Under the second option, the bulk of AFISMA would be rehatted under that United Nations stabilization mission. Most of the military, police and civilian components would operate in the north, with a light presence in Bamako. Given the anticipated level and nature of the residual threat, there would also be a fundamental requirement for a parallel force to operate in Mali alongside the United Nations stabilization mission to conduct major combat and counter-terrorism operations and provide specialist support beyond the scope of the United Nations mandate and capability.

These two options can be viewed as phases in the gradual process of transition from the current situation to a United Nations stabilization mission deployed alongside a parallel force. They take into account the fact that the United Nations is operating in a new geopolitical context and faces threats that have not been encountered before in a peacekeeping context. The situation on the ground remains fluid, and extremists and criminal elements continue to pose a significant threat to the safety and security of civilians and United Nations personnel in Mali.

The Secretary-General observes that it will be of crucial importance that

> "clear distinction be maintained between the core peacekeeping tasks of an envisaged United Nations stabilization mission and the peace enforcement and counter-terrorism activities of the parallel force" (*S/2013/189, p.100*).

Any blurring of the distinction would place severe constraints on the ability of United Nations humanitarian, development, human rights and other personnel to safely do their work.

In the same vein, given that the crisis in Mali is part of serious wider regional challenges, it will be essential to coordinate support to Mali within a broader regional strategy that incorporates Mali's neighbours and key partners in the process. The Secretary-General's Special Representative to West Africa, Mr. Said Djinnit, continues to work with countries of the Economic Community of West African States on a shared approach towards the security and political challenges in Mali and beyond. In addition, the regional strategy that the United Nations is leading in developing for the Sahel should be viewed as a complementary and indispensable process. The Secretary-General met with his Special Envoy for the Sahel, Mr. Romano Prodi, on 1 April with respect to the United Nations overall approach to the region, with a focus on what the international community can do to support the people of the Sahel.

In closing, let me note again the Secretary-General's satisfaction with the progress made so far in securing Mali's territorial integrity and his commitment to using the tools of the United Nations to promoting, through a Malian-led process including elections, long-term political stability and economic growth in Mali.

The President: I thank Mr. Feltman for his briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Mali.

Mr. Daou (Mali) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, allow me to extend to you, Sir, my heartfelt congratulations upon Rwanda's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. At the same time, I wish you every possible success in the discharge of your lofty burden. I am gratified that this meeting has been convened to consider the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Mali (S/2013/189), pursuant to the implementation of resolution 2085 (2012). I congratulate the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. Jeffrey Feltman, on his outstanding briefing.

Mali welcomes the report, which by and large covers its concerns, and sincerely thanks Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his tireless and praiseworthy

efforts towards a lasting solution to the very serious crisis racking my country. It will be recalled that in a letter dated 12 February 2013 addressed to the Secretary-General, that the interim President of the Republic of Mali, His Excellency Mr. Dioncounda Traoré, underscored the need to configure the international community's presence in Mali through support for the re-establishment of territorial integrity and the restoration of peace and stability in my country. Today, as evidenced by recent developments in the security situation in northern Mali, the goal of the total liberation of the country has not yet been achieved or peace restored.

As emphasized by the report of the Secretary-General, extremist armed groups are resorting to new asymmetric modes of action, such as guerrilla warfare, ambushes, suicide attacks, booby-trapped vehicles, improvised explosive devices, and anti-personnel mines. These armed groups often melt into the local population to commit their crimes. Infiltration attempts by jihadists elements and the offensives of extremist groups have been repeatedly repelled as a result of the vigilance and the determination of the Malian armed forces, backed by French troops and those of the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA).

The cities of Kidal, Tessalit, Gao, Timbuktu and several other parts of the country that have been targeted by terrorists in recent weeks and months must be secured. On 21 February, some 30 terrorists infiltrated the administrative district of Gao and entrenched themselves in the city hall. Following violent clashes with elements of the Malian armed and security forces, backed by French military forces of Operation Serval, the allied counter-offensive neutralized the terrorist band, some of whose members wore explosive belts.

On 20 March, the village of Dougoumi in the municipality of Ténenkou, in the region of Mopti, was attacked by armed men, resulting in heavy casualties, with about 20 dead and missing from the local population.

On 23 March, Timbuktu was hit in turn by the wave of terrorist attacks, with the explosion of a car bomb and a failed attempt to break into the city airport. On the night of 30-31 March, violent clashes again occurred between the Malian army and jihadists infiltrators in the city centre, with an estimated toll of eight terrorists killed and a Malian non-commissioned officer killed and eight wounded. On 1 April, again in Timbuktu, three jihadists who had managed to successfully infiltrate the city were neutralized.

I could cite many cases of armed violence and subversive actions undertaken by the narco-jihadist groups and their secessionist allies against the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mali.

It is clear that these recurrent outbreaks of violence undertaken by Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Ansar Dine, Mouvement pour l'unicité et le jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest and the Mouvement national pour la libération de l'Azawad (MNLA) constitute an obstacle not only to the re-establishment of State authority, but also to the return of internally displaced persons and refugees living in neighbouring countries to their homes. The violence is also an obstacle to creating a climate of calm that would allow for the organization of free, transparent and credible elections throughout the national territory, and a threat to the peace and stability of the entire region.

Today more than ever before, the sovereignty and authority of the State of Mali must be in force throughout the national territory from Kayes to Kidal, from Taoudenni to Zégoua, and from Tessalit to Kourémalé. To that end, it is necessary to disarm the MNLA and to take urgent action to bolster the operational capabilities of the armed and security forces of Mali so that they can discharge their duty to protect the population and their property and to defend the national territory threatened by armed terrorists and rebel groups.

I take this opportunity to pay warm tribute to the glorious French soldiers of Operation Serval; to the soldiers of Chad, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Guinea, Ghana, Togo, Benin, the Niger and AFISMA; and to all of those who responded to the calls of Mali, its President and its armed forces and who continue to make a significant sacrifice to preserve the honour and dignity of the Malian people and renew their hope. It is also proper to reiterate here our heartfelt gratitude to the European Union training mission in Mali, which has decided to enlist and train nearly 3,000 Malian soldiers to fight the terrorist groups and defend their country. Finally, we welcome the establishment in Bamako of the United Nations Office in Mali (UNOM), and reiterate our full readiness to work in close cooperation with UNOM and its head, Mr. David Gressly.

Allow me now to say a few words on my country's position on the topic of the transformation of AFISMA

into a peacekeeping stabilization mission. Two options are proposed in the report of the Secretary-General. The Government of Mali prefers the second, which consists of the deployment of a multidimensional, integrated United Nations stabilization mission under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, alongside a parallel force whose objective will be to carry out large-scale anti-terrorism combat operations. The Government of Mali remains convinced that this option will enable it to achieve its objectives of restoring the sovereignty of the Malian State throughout its national territory, stabilizing the country and engaging in national reconciliation efforts.

Part and parcel of that aim is the unanimous adoption by the National Assembly on 29 January of the transitional road map, which provides, inter alia, for re-establishing territorial integrity, organizing free and transparent elections, and creating the National Commission for Dialogue and Reconciliation, which will include all elements and stakeholders of the Malian crisis. An important milestone was achieved on 27 March with the appointment of the Chair and two Vice-Chairs of the Commission by the Head of State of Mali. That clearly shows that no stone will be left unturned by the highest Malian authorities to ensure the effective establishment of the Commission and its successful operation as rapidly as possible.

One of the transitional Government's priorities is the organization of presidential and legislative elections by 31 July at the latest. Despite the many difficulties and complexity of that endeavour, there is reason to hope that the Malians, with the assistance of their partners and the international community, will meet the challenges and turn a new page in their history.

I cannot conclude without extending my gratitude to all countries that pledged their assistance during the pledging conference held in Addis Ababa on 29 January to support AFISMA and the Malian army. I also welcome UNESCO's establishment of a special fund to preserve Mali's global heritage in order to assist the authorities in preserving and protecting property affected by the conflict, in particular the affected sites in Timbuktu and the Tomb of Askia in Gao.

Finally, I would like, on behalf of the Government of Mali, to reaffirm my profound gratitude to all of the members of the Council, to the African Union, to the Economic Community of West African States, and to all our bilateral and multilateral partners for their unanimous support and the special attention they have always devoted to the issue of Mali.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Côte d'Ivoire.

Mr. Bamba (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to take the floor on behalf of the 15 States members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In turn, I wish to warmly congratulate you, Sir, on Rwanda's assumption of presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. My country, Côte d'Ivoire, which maintains friendly and brotherly relations with Rwanda, naturally wishes you every success in fulfilling your mandate.

I also thank the Secretary-General for his excellent report on the situation in Mali (S/2013/189) and express my delegation's appreciation for the briefing provided by Mr. Jeffrey Feltman, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs.

As has been underscored by the previous speakers, the situation in Mali has enjoyed positive developments since the launching of Operation Serval. In the military and security domains, the counter-offensive waged by the allied forces was decisive, enabling rapid northward progress to Tessalit. Current efforts seek to launch offensives against the jihadist havens, particularly those located in the Adrars des Ifhogas region and the Niger Strip.

That is why, at its extraordinary meeting held on 25 and 26 March in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, the General Committee of Chiefs of Staff of ECOWAS concluded that it was indispensible that the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA) be provided as soon as possible with all necessary financial and material resources for its further upscaling and upgrading, in order to enable it to take over from the French forces, which are scheduled to withdraw in the near future. Accordingly, the current transition is of crucial importance, particularly in terms of AFISMA's transformation into a United Nations stabilization operation under Chapter VII of the Charter. In that respect, estimates indicate a need for 11,200 military troops and 1,440 police officers. There is an urgent need to immediately implement the measures necessary to ensure the effective deployment of those troops.

With regard to force generation, and based on the work of a battalion comprising 850 elements, the following countries have committed to providing

infantry battalions: Burkina Faso — one battalion; the Niger — one battalion; Togo — one battalion; Nigeria — one battalion; Chad —two battalions; Sierra Leone — onebattalion; Senegal and Guinea, jointly — one battalion; Côte d'Ivoire — one battalion; and the Gambia — one company for the protection of the force's civilian police. Moreover, we note paragraph 45 of the report of the Secretary-General, that as of 22 March, 6,288 military personnel had been deployed. Therefore, additional efforts are necessary in order to attain 100 per cent deployment as soon as possible in order to ensure AFISMA's efficient transformation into a United Nations stabilization operation under Chapter VII of the Charter.

As we all know, every United Nations peacekeeping operation requires the prior consent of the host State. We are therefore pleased that, in a letter dated 12 February (S/2013/113, annex), addressed to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, the Government of Mali requested the deployment of a United Nations operation in Mali in order to restore the stability, authority and sovereignty of the Malian State throughout its territory. Based on the consent of the Government of Mali, ECOWAS also addressed a letter dated 26 March to the Secretary-General, highly recommending the transformation of AFISMA into a United Nations stabilization operation equipped with a robust mandate. Furthermore, ECOWAS highly recommends, in the framework of the future United Nations force in Mali, the presence of a parallel force equipped with the capacity necessary to rapidly dislodge the groups of terrorists and insurgents.

The objectives contained in resolution 2085 (2012) are still fully relevant, but in the light of recent developments in the situation in Mali their effective achievement now requires us to consider the rapid transformation of AFISMA into a United Nations peacekeeping operation. That is an an inescapable reality. Indeed, ECOWAS believes that Mali urgently needs multidimensional assistance covering the areas of security, peace, humanitarian assistance, support for human rights, support for political dialogue, and the electoral process — all of which can be provided only by a United Nations peacekeeping operation. ECOWAS believes that this option is the most appropriate formula for stabilizing the security situation in Mali in order to create conditions conducive to the swift implementation of the transition road map, including presidential and legislative elections.

With the same concern of stabilizing security in Mali, ECOWAS emphasizes the need to address urgently the issue of the status of the Mouvement national pour la libération de l'Azawad (MNLA). In any event, ECOWAS believes that the MNLA should be disarmed and that the National Commission for Dialogue and Reconciliation, established on 6 March, is the ideal setting for addressing the claims of the MNLA. To that end, the rapid deployment of civil administration in Mali, including judicial and prison services, could contribute significantly to strengthening the rule of law, fighting impunity and installing Government interlocutors in northern Mali who are acceptable both to the international community and to the new peace mission to be established.

In conclusion, and in the light of the foregoing, ECOWAS recommends that the Security Council authorize under Chapter VII of the Charter the transformation of AFISMA into a United Nations stabilization operation, with a robust mandate and a parallel rapid reaction force.

The President: There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 10.55 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.6945

Security Council

Distr.: General
11 April 2013

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 6945th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 11 April 2013, at 10 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 11 April 2013, the Security Council, pursuant to annex II, sections A and B of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 6945th meeting in private with the troop- and police-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara.

"The Security Council and the troop- and police-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Ms. Izumi Nakamitsu, Director, Asia and Middle East Division, Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

"Members of the Council, Ms. Nakamitsu and representatives of participating contributing countries had an exchange of views."

13-28793 (E) 110413

Please recycle

United Nations S/PV.6946

Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6946th meeting
Monday, 15 April 2013, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Ms. Mushikiwabo	(Rwanda)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Perceval
	Australia	Mr. Quinlan
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	France	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Masood Khan
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Kim Sook
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Togo	Mr. Ohin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Mr. DeLaurentis

Agenda

Peace and Security in Africa

Prevention of conflicts in Africa: addressing the root causes

Letter dated 2 April 2013 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2013/204)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

13-28995 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Peace and security in Africa

Prevention of conflicts in Africa: addressing the root causes

Letter dated 2 April 2013 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2013/204)

The President: I wish to warmly welcome the Secretary-General and the representatives present in the Chamber. Their participation is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter under discussion.

Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Tekeda Alemu, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations, representing the Chairperson of the African Union, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/2013/204, which contains a letter dated 2 April 2013 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

As the President of the Security Council, I hope that this important meeting on the item entitled "Prevention of conflicts in Africa: addressing the root causes" will be an occasion for the Council to revisit the concept and practice of conflict prevention as currently understood within the United Nations system. Recalling the theme, today's briefing aims at examining how we can move from a day-to-day management of conflicts and develop a culture of conflict prevention through skills, mechanisms and institutions that address the root causes of conflicts in Africa.

The African Union has identified various factors and root causes of conflict on the continent, and it has established institutions and mechanisms to address them. We believe that it is the right time for the Security Council to strengthen its cooperation with the African Union and its subregional organizations in order to achieve better results in conflict prevention.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General: I am pleased to address the Security Council on the important subject of preventing armed conflicts and addressing their root causes. Although we are focused today on Africa, there are universal lessons in conflict prevention that apply everywhere around the world.

Conflicts breed where there is poor governance, abuse of human rights and grievances over the unequal distribution of resources, wealth and power. Tensions simmer where people are excluded, marginalized and denied meaningful participation in the political and social life of their country. Unrest flourishes where people are poor, jobless and without hope. To prevent conflicts, we must strengthen democracy, build stronger, more resilient and accountable State institutions, ensure adequate checks and balances, promote the rule of law and work to establish effective democratic control over the armed forces.

Too often, national pride and the self-interest of political actors and spoilers conspire to undermine prevention efforts. Issues related to poor governance and the unfulfilled promise of democracy often lead to conflict. Good governance will be the focus of my report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

More than 20 African countries are holding elections this year. The relatively peaceful elections in Kenya were an example of how electoral disagreements can be handled through the legal process without recourse to violence. In other cases, elections can be a source of instability. The parties may use elections to continue the competition to divide the spoils of war. That is why it is so important for mediation efforts to ensure that peace agreements are not just pacts between political elites to address an immediate political problem; they must also deal with the underlying causes of conflict and allow all stakeholders to participate.

It is also not enough to reach agreements — they must be fully implemented, monitored and enforced. That is clear in the case of the Central African Republic. The violation of the Libreville agreements by parties contributed to the resumption of conflict and, eventually, the unconstitutional change of Government.

Such challenges are particularly acute when States are fragile and armed movements operate with impunity across porous borders, often with the support of neighbouring States. Whether in the Horn of Africa or the Great Lakes region, the continent is still afflicted by interconnected instability spreading from one territory to its neighbours. That contagion has many vectors: economic despair, arms flows, massive population displacements, proxy conflicts triggered by relationships of mistrust, and regional rivalries. In our increasingly interconnected world, regional action to prevent or address conflicts is all the more important.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, national authorities, regional leaders and the international community are coming together not only to deal with the manifestations of violence, but also to address its underlying root causes. I am grateful to the Security Council for endorsing the approach of leaders of the region. Their Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region emphasizes the need to address the structural causes fuelling instability in that country and commits regional actors to shared responsibilities. The Council's new mandate for the United Nations peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is intended to contribute to efforts for the implementation of the Framework, including through the deployment of an intervention brigade to deal with the problem of armed groups.

In South Sudan, decades of political and economic marginalization resulted in organized military and political resistance. The United Nations has committed to helping that young country, even though we have paid a heavy price. I was outraged by the attack last week that killed a dozen people, including five brave peacekeepers. I thank the Council for joining me in strongly condemning that appalling ambush and calling for the perpetrators to be brought to justice.

Since the independence of South Sudan, Juba and Khartoum have made slow but steady progress towards the resolution of post-secession issues, including agreements on border security arrangements, economic relations and oil. But potential sources of conflict remain, including in particular the unresolved status of the Abyei Area,

The conflict in Somalia has multiple, complex causes, including competition for resources and power, a repressive State and a colonial legacy. The crisis is exacerbated by politicized clan identity, easy access to weapons, the presence of a large number of unemployed youth and a culture of impunity that sanctions the use of violence.

The Federal Government of Somalia has entered a new era of peacebuilding and statebuilding. But it faces daunting challenges to restore confidence in the State and the conditions necessary for peace and stability.

I am also concerned about the situation in the Sahel, where countries have faced decades of complex challenges of poverty, the effects of climate change, frequent food crises, rapid population growth, poor governance, corruption, the risk of violent extremism, illicit trafficking and terrorist-related security threats. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that States of the region have limited capacities to deliver basic social services and protect human rights.

When State authority and security institutions erode, it becomes more difficult to manage borders. In Mali, that has paved the way for transnational criminal organizations and terrorist networks to disrupt regional stability and compromise territorial integrity. Severe drought and food insecurity in many countries in the Sahel region, including in Mali, the Niger and Burkina Faso, have also created conditions for instability and undermined stabilization efforts.

The United Nations is at a critical juncture in its engagement in Guinea-Bissau. Following the military coup last year, the United Nations has continued to promote inclusive dialogue among national actors towards the restoration of constitutional order.

In all of our efforts across Africa, the United Nations benefits from reinvigorated regional organizations. They are playing a stronger and role as key strategic partners. The prompt reaction of the Economic Community of Central African States to the crisis in the Central African Republic showed an increased willingness to formulate joint responses to common problems. The United Nations is working to strengthen the conflict prevention and early-warning architecture of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). We are pursuing our 10-year capacity-building partnership with the African Union. We are strengthening our close relationship with Economic Community of West African States on peacebuilding and crisis prevention in West Africa. We are engaging with the African Union, SADC and the International Conference for the Great Lakes Region in the search

for peace in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. And we are partnering with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development on the urgent challenge to bring stability to Somalia.

Above all, it is critical to ensure that affected communities own and lead conflict prevention initiatives. Our support for national Governments should focus on building the active engagement of community organizations, the private sector, civil society, women and youth in decision-making. Their activities can help stabilize communities.

Prevention also demands that we address the culture of impunity surrounding sexual violence. As my Special Representative on the issue has rightly said, sexual violence affects more than isolated individuals; it is an assault on the peace and security of entire communities. That is why I place such high priority on addressing that destabilizing and dehumanizing crime. I count on the Council to continue giving priority to preventing and addressing sexual violence in conflict.

I thank the Security Council for its engagement in the committed efforts of the United Nations to address the root causes of conflict in Africa. Through our comprehensive approach, strong partnerships and principled action, we can usher in a new era of lasting stability for the continent and its people.

Mr. Ohin (Togo) (*spoke in French*): I would like to commend you, Madam President, on convening this debate on the prevention of conflict in Africa, a continent always beset by recurring conflicts. I would like to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive briefing on the question under consideration.

The persistence of conflicts in Africa is a major obstacle to its socioeconomic development. While very often it is relatively easy to identify the immediate factors that trigger those conflicts, the deep causes underlying them are more complex. Their complexity is due to the fact that they originate from a combination of multiple factors — political, social and economic — and to the fact that those deep causes must be sought not only in the legacy of colonialism, but also in ancient struggles for vital areas carried out by emperors or kings.

It is therefore useful to identify all those factors, whose combined effects have had a negative impact on the peace and stability of States, and to provide States with the most appropriate solutions in order to halt their potential tragic consequences for the legitimate aspirations of a continent for lasting socioeconomic development.

It goes without saying that following the redrawing of the map of Africa, which saw the emergence of new States created within the borders imposed by the colonizer, several factors, both internal and external, have contributed to the destabilization of State institutions and still today are at the root of conflicts on the continent. One could cite the contest for political power and the poverty of populations, which are often identified as primary causes of internal conflicts, as well as border problems, which have been at the heart of several inter-State armed conflicts since independence.

Since gaining independence, African States have been confronted with the problem of the difficult choice of representative leaders. Traditional institutions that were familiar to local populations were largely dismantled by the colonizer, and only the Western model of Government, not readily adaptable to the social realities of Africa, became widespread across the continent. The internal conflicts that break out in Africa are often rooted in that laborious apprenticeship in a model of Government and external political concepts for which Africans are not only unprepared, but which also they do not adapt to sufficiently.

It must be noted, unfortunately, that that inadequacy, that structural and functional maladaptation of the State and of institutions bequeathed by colonialism and mechanically slapped on in Africa, continues to generate illegal struggles for power that in many cases are transformed into ethnic or religious rivalries that strengthen the feeling of belonging to a group, to the detriment of the national identity.

Alongside political factors and those related to non-respect for human rights, to the absence of social justice or to the marginalization of some social groups, there are also economic factors. Those factors are no less important and to a very great extent have contributed to weakening the African State and to favouring the emergence of numerous conflicts.

This is a matter, inter alia, of bad management of economic resources, the growing impoverishment of populations, increasingly difficult access to basic social services and a lack of prospects for young people, whose numbers are rapidly growing. Those situations, which create a climate of social tensions and subsequently

lead to the weakening of State structures, in many cases pave the way for the incursion of armed groups, often ethnic-based, into political life. They seize power even though they are not prepared for it.

Another conflict factor has to do with the borders of most African countries, often drawn by the colonial Powers in an arbitrary manner to suit their exclusive interests. That artificial delimitation brought together fundamentally different peoples and divided others having the same cultural identity. To that one must add the porous nature of borders, which facilitates the uncontrolled circulation of weapons that fuel rebels and other armed groups.

Furthermore, ethnic problems are also accompanied by resource issues. A simple difference between two communities on both sides of a border can lead to tensions between States. When those areas have important resources, their management can cause even more serious misunderstandings.

Given those conflicts, which have seriously hampered and, in the current state of affairs, continue to compromise development in Africa, it is necessary, in the framework of conflict prevention, to tackle them at the roots of the evil through a comprehensive global and regional approach. That strategy must include a focus on promoting a democratic culture, on reducing poverty through an equitable distribution of the resources of the country and on swiftly implementing border demarcation programmes.

With regard to the promotion of a democratic culture — the contest for political power being in Africa one of the major causes of many armed conflicts since independence — the promotion and strengthening of a democratic culture, guarantor of human rights, could help to reduce the risk of conflict by providing everybody with equal opportunities to participate in the management of public affairs. The creation of the United Nations Democracy Fund to assist countries that are seeking to establish democracy or to strengthen it is therefore a decisive advance along those lines.

In addition, African initiatives for democracy and good governance, such as the African Peer Review Mechanism and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, which are genuine tools for promoting democracy on the continent, represent major advances in the field. The full implementation of the provisions of those instruments and awareness-raising among the various national political actors could contribute greatly to the entrenchment of general democratic principles on our continent.

The overhaul of States' capacities for political governance, and hence their ability to address political and social vulnerabilities, will not promote lasting peace if we do not, at the same time, seek to reduce Africa's endemic poverty.

Situations of scarcity and poverty provide fertile breeding grounds for conflicts. It is therefore urgent to rethink the economic governance of African States through a change in mindset, as it is well known that the economic problems of Africa lie not so much in its poverty but, rather, in the mismanagement of its many riches.

In addition, the benefits of those resources should be equitably shared, and that should not be limited to resources that can be mined. Land and water should be used in more efficient ways in order to provide opportunities, such as fishing, farming, grazing and agriculture, to all populations.

Borders are also a major issue in Africa. While States subscribe to the principle of the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonization, which is a principle adopted by the African Union, the demarcation of those boundaries has, for several decades now, led to structural conflicts on the continent. It is therefore important to remedy that situation by promoting peace, peaceful coexistence between divided communities and security in border regions and their economic development. In that regard, we urge the international community to further support the African Union's border programme, which is aimed at completing the demarcation of borders across the continent in order to reduce the risk of inter-State conflict over resources.

Moreover, my country believes that it is essential to encourage and promote projects on the shared management of transborder natural resources, on the involvement of local populations on both sides of the border in border projects and, ultimately, on regional integration, which will help reduce tensions along borders.

Togo believes that civil society organizations, while not substitutes for the State, have a key role to play in the culture of peace. Efforts should therefore be made to strengthen the capacity of civil society organizations through an approach that includes participatory development, where institutional and policy changes

respond to the deep and legitimate desires of the populations concerned.

Let me conclude by emphasizing the need for Africa to find locally generated structural solutions to address the deep causes of conflict. We believe that, if many proposed approaches have been doomed to failure or have at best had mixed results, it is because they were, for the most part, imposed from the outside on the affected populations, actors or victims of those conflicts. It is also important that the Council use conflict prevention mechanisms as much as possible, in particular as provided by the Charter in Articles 40 and 41. Employing such mechanisms will have the advantage of promoting early-warning systems and strengthening the role of the Security Council in conflict prevention, which is by far less expensive than peacekeeping.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Ethiopia, who will speak on behalf of the Chairperson of the African Union.

Mr. Alemu (Ethiopia): On behalf of the Chairperson of the African Union (AU), I would like to congratulate you, Madam President, and your Government on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. I also commend you for organizing today's debate on the theme "Prevention of conflicts in Africa: addressing the root causes".

Allow me to also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for being always mindful of the special situation of Africa and for acting accordingly. I would also like to express appreciation to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Togo for being here at this important meeting.

Your excellent concept paper (S/2013/204, annex), Madam President, has proposed that we focus on the structural dimension of the prevention of conflicts in Africa, which is obviously most germane to looking at the root causes of conflicts on our continent.

On the topic of the root causes of conflicts in Africa, there is perhaps no better starting point than the comprehensive report (S/1998/318) submitted in 1998 by the former Secretary-General to both the General Assembly and the Security Council on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. That was a seminal contribution, which rightly brought up Africa's colonial history, the post-Second-World-War ideological rivalry, various external factors and internal governance issues and other matters that are specific to particular situations as having had a major impact as sources of conflict on the continent. Development is therefore, according to the report, central to the prospects for reducing conflict in Africa. Accordingly, the report underlines the vital role that international cooperation for the development of Africa plays in addressing the challenges of conflict. While mentioning the deficits in that area, the report nonetheless makes it clear that Africa has the primary responsibility for preserving its own peace and stability. Today more than ever, the report states, Africa must look to itself.

That is precisely what Africa has done over the past decade or so. Today's Africa is emphatically not the Africa of the 1980s or the 1990s. Many things have changed, including with respect to Africa's readiness to take the lead in the prevention and resolution of conflicts in the various subregions of the continent. Two examples will suffice in that regard. The progress made in Somalia, despite the occasional hiccups, would have been inconceivable without the lead role played by African troops, together with the Somali security forces, to keep extremists, including foreign ones, at bay. The wisdom and prudence that was brought to bear on the complex situation between the Sudan and South Sudan also has a decisive African component.

All those factors do not diminish the role of the international community, most of all the United Nations, both with respect to Somalia and the Sudan, as well as other parts of the continent, as the latest developments in Mali have made so obvious. However, it is necessary that Africa's contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security be given due recognition. The point is that much has changed in Africa over the past decade or so.

The change that we have witnessed in Africa over the past decade is also evident in institution-building, including in the area of peace and security. The African Union Peace and Security Architecture, with its Continental Early Warning System, the Panel of the Wise and the African Standby Force, with the Peace and Security Council at the helm, has transformed Africa's capacity to contribute to peace and stability on the continent. Africa has come a long way in that respect, the process having begun in 1993 in Cairo with the establishment of the AU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.

On the other hand, no event demonstrates the feebleness of Africa of that period better than the genocide in Rwanda only nine months later. It is

doubtful that the Africa of the current period would allow that to happen. At the minimum, it would raise its voice in time and not sit idly by.

Also in that connection, the Constitutive Act of the African Union shows that Africa has come a long way when, in paragraph (h) of article 4, member States agreed that

> "The right of the Union to intervene in a member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely, war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity".

Paragraph (j) of the same article confers the right on member States "to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security". How much progress that represents in Africa's resolve to address the challenges of peace and security can be fully appreciated only when one considers how strongly the 1963 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Charter was opposed to any initiative even remotely suggestive of what is allowed under article 4 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, to which I have just referred.

No doubt, everything I have mentioned is a manifestation of the trust that Africans have managed to build in one another and of their readiness to strengthen their unity, including with the view to addressing the challenge of peace and security in Africa. I wanted to bring up the question of trust because of the undeniable fact that it has not been present in abundance, as witnessed in paragraph 5 of article III of the Charter of the OAU under "Principles", when member States felt it necessary to agree: that

> "Unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination, as well as of subversive activities, on the part of neighbouring States or any other States".

While much remains to be done, although much of Africa's good work continues to be called into question by some, we have also made great strides in developing the conditions for good governance. The African Union has, for instance, gone on record as not being ready to countenance unconstitutional changes of Government.

All that is to say that, more than at any time in the past, Africa is ready to play its part for peace and stability on the continent. It has the wherewithal to be a good partner to the United Nations and the Security Council for the realization of that objective. We are pleased to note that the partnership between the Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union is already gradually growing. No one can deny that, despite the progress made, Africa still requires the strong support of the United Nations, including the Security Council, as well as that of other partners. It is our hope, in that regard, that the United Nations Office to the AU will play its proper role with a view to strengthening the cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union. Let me add that the subregional organizations of the continent also play a vital role in peace and stability. It does not help to understate the added value that they bring and how critical they are in that regard.

However, consultations and cooperation between the United Nations and the AU need to develop further. Their nature and content in terms of quality should be commensurate with the vital role that the African Union plays in the peace and security in the region. There is much room for improvement in that regard. The principles of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations should be adhered to. Africa is second to none in that regard. However, such adherence should not be conceived as disallowing a genuine partnership based on taking advantage of each other's strength.

I would like to conclude by emphasizing one crucial point. That relates to how much the lack of institution-building, including the consolidation of State institutions, is understated as one of the major root causes of conflict on our continent. It appears that it is sometimes taken for granted that the weaker the State, the greater the space and the opportunity for democracy to blossom. That is perhaps not always true. In any event, the way to proceed might be to maintain the proper balance. Lessons need to be drawn from recent experiences, including that of Mali. In that connection, tearing down those that have embarked upon building successful institutions may be good neither for conflict prevention nor for putting in place a robust foundation for good governance.

That, in a nutshell, is the message that I was asked by the current Chairperson of the AU to deliver to the Security Council at this meeting.

Mr. Quinlan (Australia): We particularly welcome the initiative of Rwanda and your presence here today, Madam President, as we mark the terrible experience of the Rwandan genocide. Rwanda painfully knows the cost of the failure of us all to prevent conflict.

In its opening lines, the Charter of the United Nations defines the purpose of the Organization as being to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The prevention of conflict was the primordial reason that we created the United Nations. Yet, typically, we spend our time responding to situations in which populations are already caught up in the misery of conflict.

There has never been any question that prevention is better than cure. Prevention can save countless lives and untold trauma and grief. The *World Development Report 2011* tells us that, on average, a civil war can cost the equivalent of 30 years of lost gross domestic product growth. No society in conflict has achieved a single Millennium Development Goal. Regional spillovers are inevitable. There are 42 million people displaced today as a result of conflict, violence and human rights abuses.

Today, we are focusing on the root causes of conflict in Africa. I will mention three issues.

First, let me turn to institution-building. The links between strong and trusted institutions, development and conflict-prevention are well known and well understood. In Timor-Leste in 2006, four years after independence, violence erupted between the military and the police, causing further deaths and massive internal displacement. Yet, just two years after that, the country was able to withstand the shock of dual assassination attempts on the lives of the President and the Prime Minister, without further deterioration in the security situation. Over the two intervening years, Timor-Leste was able to develop stronger institutions and to offer alternative tools to violence and handle the shock. The Parliament, the security services under civilian oversight, and justice institutions all played their roles.

Secondly, with regard to economic opportunities, the nexus between security and development is obvious. We simply must work to create — and narrow the gap in access to — economic opportunities, in particular for young people, women and other marginalized groups.

Thirdly, with regard to natural-resource management, natural resources can be a source of conflict, as we know, but can also present decisive opportunities for growth. Australia is sharing its own experience and expertise to support African countries in their efforts to maximize economic benefits from their extractive sectors in a regulated and sustainable manner that returns revenue to the State. Joint development across borders can often be effective.

In addition to addressing root causes, we must also work to minimize the impact of global challenges that exacerbate conflict. I will mention just two.

First, let me turn to small arms and light weapons — the weapons of mass destruction in Africa. The adoption of the Arms Trade Treaty (resolution 67/234 B) two weeks ago was a historic step towards controlling the proliferation of such weapons and their ammunition, but we must work to ensure its robust implementation by our own Governments and by other States with our assistance.

Secondly, climate change is affecting Africa disproportionately, increasing competition for scarce resources such as food and water. We need to utilize all the tools at our disposal to minimize threats. That means bolstering our disaster risk-reduction efforts, improving early-warning and response capacities, and strengthening resource management and building resilience.

I must highlight the responsibility to protect, 19 years on from the Rwandan genocide. Protection from atrocities is not only a reason to strive to avoid conflict, but is itself part of conflict prevention. Likewise, combating impunity for the most serious crimes — including through instruments such as the International Criminal Court, a lynchpin of the international criminal justice system — is essential.

I shall turn now to the role of the African Union and other regional and subregional organizations. As we know, such bodies can have unique comparative advantages in addressing root causes, not least because such causes often transcend State boundaries.

As Ambassador Tekeda Alemu said on behalf of the Chairperson of the African Union (AU) this morning, the AU is building a transformative peace and security architecture. The Peace and Security Council and the Peace and Security Department are complemented effectively by the strategic use of representatives and AU missions, the appointment of high-level mediators and the dispatch of fact-finding missions — for instance, the joint pre-election observer mission to Kenya.

We commend the African Peer Review Mechanism as an African-driven initiative that allows frank messages on governance.

AU conflict-prevention mechanisms are evolving, and there is a need to support their development. We would, for example, welcome the full operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System and its integration with subregional and national systems, as well as the strengthening of its relationships with the Panel of the Wise and the African Peer Review Mechanism.

AU-United Nations cooperation on prevention has been growing. Its impact has been demonstrated in efforts to avoid an outbreak of renewed hostilities between the Sudan and South Sudan last year. However, that cooperation has often been crisis-driven. Efforts to move beyond a reactive approach have been helped by more institutionalized meetings and dialogues at the working level, through the Joint Task Force and Security Council-African Union Peace and Security Council meetings. We would suggest that we consider conflict prevention at the next such meeting between those two bodies.

In conclusion, we must acknowledge that the Security Council is itself often crisis-driven. We should make better use of preventive tools, including horizon-scanning and increased responsiveness to early warning signs. We welcome Rwanda's intention to focus on root causes in the Council's Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa.

While many of the root causes go beyond the Council's direct purview, the Council still needs to be focused on those causes and their consequences. Clearly, the cost in human suffering, wasted resources and lost opportunity speaks to why this has to be done.

Mr. DeLaurentis (United States of America): I would like to thank you, Madam, for having called this meeting on peace and security in Africa on the theme "Prevention of conflicts in Africa: addressing the root causes". On behalf of the United States, I would also like to congratulate Rwanda on its presidency during the present month. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his briefing and recommendations to address the root causes of conflict, as well as Ambassador Tekeda Alemu for his statement on behalf of the Chairperson of the African Union.

Violent conflict has been a destructive scourge in Africa, to which the Council has rightly devoted significant attention. The good news is that, after a peak in the 1990s, armed conflict has significantly declined in sub-Saharan Africa, both in the number of conflicts and in their intensity. The Council and the United Nations system, together with the African Union, subregional organizations and other partners, have significantly helped drive that positive trend. The less good news is that many risk factors and drivers of conflict remain.

While every violent conflict is unique and has its own history, several factors fuel or intensify risk, including poverty, real or perceived inequality, the lack of good governance and the rule of law, proximity to instability and cycles of previous conflict. The disenfranchisement of youth, minorities and other groups, or their deliberate manipulation by non-democratic leaders, are explosive potential drivers of conflict. On the other hand, capable and legitimate governance institutions create security, predictability and mutual confidence, which allow individuals and communities to resolve disputes and practice politics peacefully. Free media and a vibrant civil society also play crucial roles in building citizens' confidence by increasing transparency and providing communities with tools to speak up and articulate their concerns and interests. A key common factor in preventing or overcoming conflict is the active presence of credible, capable and widely legitimate governing institutions able to deal with their citizens' most pressing needs, economic growth and jobs, basic services and access to justice.

To the United States, that means we need to energize efforts on a few key fronts. First, we need to get much more serious about poverty eradication. Poverty alone does not cause conflict, but in combination with other factors, it dramatically increases the risk. That is why the United States is mobilizing a wide variety of tools, from the Millennium Challenge Corporation to the African Growth and Opportunity Act to the Administration's global health and food security initiatives, all of which seek to help grow Africa's economies and invest in Africa's people. All of those bilateral initiatives should complement multilateral efforts to address poverty and inequality, not just in Africa but globally. The wider United Nations system has a critical role to play in that regard, as does the private sector.

Secondly, we need to strengthen our focus on governance and institutional challenges, including the security environment needed for good governance to take hold. United Nations peacekeeping operations, when appropriate, can bring about critical security and political stability that give national actors the space

to build their own institutions and carry out peaceful power transitions, as well as provide a foundation for economic growth. Such operations can also create space for the work of the United Nations and other intentional partners in key areas such as justice and security sector reform, rule of law and anti-corruption. We also need to look at innovative ways to nurture the next generations of leadership. In that regard, President Obama's Young African Leaders Initiative is working to put younger generations at the centre of economic and political development.

Thirdly, we need to continue to strengthen peacebuilding. Ninety per cent of the civil wars that started after 2000 occurred in a country that had had a civil war in the previous 30 years. We must do better than that. We need to listen to countries that have gone through war-to-peace transitions, as in the Group of Seven Plus, and focus international efforts around what they tell us they need. United Nations peacebuilding instruments also have the potential to provide a platform for the mobilization of national and international partners around common priorities for transition, as we have seen in places including, inter alia, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Burundi.

Fourthly, we must continue to hone our national and international structures and capacities to anticipate, prevent and respond to conflicts. The Atrocities Prevention Board, for example, helps the United States mobilize action by the United States Government and further develop tools and institutional changes to enable more nimble and effective responses in future.

Fifthly, we need to be able to speak candidly and act credibly to address another kind of root cause: when leaders are willing to take their populations to war or wage war against their own people for their own purposes.

Finally, we need to build stronger and more dynamic partnerships among all actors engaged in conflict prevention and response, based on comparative advantage and the unique capability each can bring. The United Nations, the African Union and Africa's subregional organizations, along with the African Development Bank, the World Bank and major development partners, all must continue to deepen collaboration and strengthen their capacities to address conflict drivers in Africa.

We have much greater knowledge today about what causes conflict. We have a much wider range of potential tools at our disposal. Let us use them with focus, dedication and results.

Mr. Rosenthal (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): We are grateful to the Government of Rwanda for having organized this briefing and for the concept note (S/2013/204, annex) that it prepared on a topic of such relevance for the Security Council. Madam Minister, we welcome your presence among us. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General for the statement he made this morning, and we welcome Ambassador Tekeda Alemu, who on this occasion is representing the African Union.

To speak about Africa in the abstract always entails risks. Africa is a vast, diverse and heterogeneous continent. Perceived from the vantage point of the Security Council's agenda, the continent appears highly problematic. However, perceived from the broader vantage point of the United Nations as a whole — including the initiatives emanating from the New Partnership for Africa's Development — a much more promising image emerges, as noted by Ambassador Alemu. Africa has indeed achieved notable progress in all areas: democratic governance, economic and social development, the consolidation of peace and interregional cooperation.

In other words, it is simply that our limited agenda focuses on situations of instability, conflict, crime, human rights violations and failed States, when, in fact, we are dealing with a region that, in spite of the difficulties and obstacles it faces, has achieved considerable progress over the past 10 to 15 years. That is another way of saying that even the most worrisome situations on our agenda are not necessarily condemned to sink into chaos and desperation.

Somalia, with the progress that has been achieved, is a specific example in that respect, but the African continent as a whole is a source of inspiration for those countries lagging behind, showing them that they have better alternatives.

This issue is a broad one and can be addressed from many different perspectives and national situations. I will limit my remarks to five specific points.

First, I would like to offer some thoughts on one of the most abused phrases in our lexicon: the root causes of conflict. It is clear that it is not enough to send peacekeeping troops to restore stability and peace to a conflict situation if the root causes of a conflict are not addressed. That is, of course, true, but the root

causes of conflicts vary from case to case, and some of those causes — such as in the context of conflicts based on tribal, inter-communal, ethnic or religious divisions — are linked to deeply ingrained cultural traits that are very resistant to change in the short term. The social sciences are far from understanding how to persuade populations with long-standing divisions to find paths towards reconciliation. However, one aspect that we have noted in situations of conflict in Africa, as well as in the Balkans and the Middle East, is that those conflicts tend to intensify in two specific instances.

The first is related to competition for the use of natural resources, especially water, land and pasturage. The second is related to the demarcation of political boundaries that ignore the geographic distribution of certain ethnic populations and tribes. While this observation may not be particularly original, it does offer hints on how we can mitigate those root causes by including in the peacekeeping toolkit issues such as the facilitation of cross-border migrations, especially those of a transitory nature, and by paying more attention to land-tenure issues.

That brings me to my second point: that other root causes of conflict, including social marginalization and exclusion, extreme poverty and vulnerability to systematic violations of the human rights of a population, can be mitigated or corrected by policies tailored to that end. That is why we support the broader concept of peacekeeping that has evolved over the past two decades with a view to addressing complex, multifaceted conflicts. That concept acknowledges that while the resolution of a conflict requires a military presence in order to re-establish stability, it is also important that, in order to bring about lasting peace, concerted efforts be made in multiple areas. Among those areas, we would stress the need for governance systems that the population perceives as representative, as well as transitional justice systems, building a system grounded in the rule of law, promoting the reform of the security sector and strengthening State institutions so that they fulfil their role effectively and efficiently. Undertaking peacebuilding activities together with other peacekeeping activities also makes a lot of sense. Among many other aspects, it requires a closer partnership among the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Peacebuilding Commission and the multilateral financial institutions.

Thirdly, in that context, we would stress the importance of the role of justice in achieving peace and security in Africa, especially as part of the preventive actions that are incumbent upon the Council. Our delegation organized an open debate on that issue during our presidency of the Council last October (see S/PV.6849), and I do not wish to repeat the contents of the concept note that we prepared on the occasion (S/2012/731, annex). But we do firmly believe that the simple fact that actions that threaten peace, including incitement to violence, can have consequences within the framework of international jurisprudence is proof of progress in the fight against impunity. We believe that the International Criminal Court is an adequate mechanism in that regard. On that particular point, we regret the fact that a reference to the International Criminal Court as an element in conflict prevention could not be included in the draft presidential statement before the Council, as we and other delegations would have preferred. Even more important is to strengthen universal access to justice in each country as a general approach, in particular for victims of conflicts who have suffered all sorts of humiliation, especially members of the most vulnerable groups, women and children. The application of justice involves sanctions for the perpetrators and reparations for the victims.

Fourthly, perhaps more than any other, the African continent has multiple regional and subregional institutions at its disposal, starting, of course, with the African Union. The manner with which the Council interacts with those institutions within the framework of Chapter VIII would produce more than enough material for a separate debate. But it should be noted that, in all the agenda items that the Council has before it, there is a noticeable proactive participation on the part not only of the African Union but of other subregional actors. The Council's partnership with one or more regional institutions is different in each case, ranging from the African Union Mission in Somalia, which is basically an African Union operation, to the African Union/United Nations hybrid operation in Darfur, and to various intermediate solutions with subregional partners. The point is that the multiplicity of partnerships is complex and sometimes poses difficulties with respect to jurisdictional and operational questions, which requires better coordination among the parties and greater conceptual clarity with regard to "who does what". However, on balance, the strong presence of African institutions complementing the Security Council has been highly positive for peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Africa.

That brings me to my fifth and final point, which is most timely at present. I am referring to our recent debate on extending our peacekeeping activities to incorporate elements of peace enforcement (see S/PV.6928). The creation of an intervention brigade within the framework of United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic People's Republic of the Congo in support of the central mandate of the Mission to protect civilians in that country, and the current proposal of the Secretary-General to create a force in Mali that

> "would operate under robust rules of engagement with a mandate to use all necessary means to address threats to the implementation of its mandate" (*S/2013/189, para. 75*).

They may be justifiable on their own merits, but, as we have stated on previous occasions, we are concerned at what we perceive as a continuous erosion of the basic principles of impartiality and non-use of force in a peacekeeping operation. Although that concern is not Africa-specific, since it is part of what we could call a doctrine of peacekeeping, the only specific cases that have surfaced are located in that region.

In conclusion, it is in Africa where we have derived most of the lessons learned on peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and that is where the most significant progress has been achieved, without forgetting that those achievements also come together with great challenges still awaiting resolution.

Mrs. Perceval (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to note your presence here today, Madam President, and to warmly welcome you among us. I would also like to welcome the presence of Mr. Elliot Ohin, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Togo. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General and Ambassador Tekeda Alemu for their briefings.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Madam President, on the work of your delegation in holding the presidency of the Council for the month of April, in particular that of our dear and respected friend Mr. Eugène-Richard Gasana. We would also like to say how much we appreciate everything the Rwandan delegation is doing on a daily basis as a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

By way of introduction, I would like highlight three points.

First, we are glad to see the imminent adoption of the draft presidential statement with the conviction that it is an important result of the work of the Council.

Secondly, we would like to point out that African conflicts and subjects, as is well known, account for the majority of the meeting time of the Council. I would also point out that it is also true that a great deal of progress has been made by most African countries, the African Union and other subregional organizations in the prevention of conflicts, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, in questions of development and in the protection and promotion of human rights, democracy, the rule of law and constitutional order.

The third point I would make is that, given the fundamental principle of sovereignty, the primary responsibility for peace and security in Africa is the responsibility of African countries themselves. It is their peoples and their Governments that must peacefully resolve conflicts and deal with the deep-seated causes of those conflicts.

At the same time, Argentina is a firm believer in the importance of the support that the African countries should receive from the international community and the United Nations. Such support should be based on a policy not of intervention but of multilateralism, and should lead to cooperation and complementarity, not to new forms of colonialism.

Since we have been asked to focus on the structural aspects of preventing conflicts, there are, in our view, five aspects that are key to tackling the possible causes of conflict. First are justice and the fight against impunity as factors in preventing conflict. We know there can be no lasting peace without justice. Argentina, from its own experience, is convinced that combating impunity helps to prevent conflicts, unite society and strengthen democracy, since such justice sends a clear message that serious crimes will not be tolerated. In that context, the role of the international ad hoc tribunals established by the Council has paved the way for a new phase, an era of accountability, one that is another step on the road to a universal fight against impunity. In that regard, the International Criminal Court is unquestionably one of the most notable achievements of multilateral diplomacy. Since it was established, a little more than 10 years ago, it has become the centre of the criminal justice system for the international community. We feel that the emerging international criminal justice system is the present and future true and legal path of "never

again" for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The reference in today's draft presidential statement to the international criminal justice system is simply a reference to the International Criminal Court, which is why Argentina regrets that it was not possible to actually name the Court in that statement.

The second aspect is the regulation of the arms trade. The peacekeeping operations of the United Nations represent a cost of $7 billion a year, while the estimated cost of armed conflict worldwide amounts to $400 billion yearly. In the case of Africa, it is estimated that armed violence costs $18 billion annually. As the Secretary-General pointed out, 60 years of United Nations peacekeeping operations have cost the international community less than six weeks' worth of current military expenditures. That demonstrates that, without adequate regulation of international transfers of conventional weapons, the human and financial costs will continue to be immense. That is why the General Assembly's adoption, on 2 April, of the Arms Trade Treaty (resolution 67/234B) represents a historic step.

Thirdly, there are the economic, social and environmental aspects. We need a comprehensive approach to the effective prevention of conflicts. One such aspect can be found in the related issues of climate and security. Years of unsustainable patterns of production and consumption have inflicted significant damage on the natural equilibrium of our climatic system. While it is true that dealing substantively with the issue of climate change falls within the purview of another area of the Organization, I would also like to recall here the principle of shared but differentiated responsibility. The industrialized nations bear the major part of the responsibility for avoiding the outcome represented by the most pessimistic forecasts of the impact of climate change on our countries. The international community should continue to work for the development of African countries so that that region, which will be seriously affected by climate change, will possess the means necessary for mitigation and adaptation.

Concerning food security, about 1 billion people around the world are currently suffering from hunger. In the past four years, Africa was the only region where the number of hungry people increased, from 175 million to 239 million, which, with almost 20 million more added, amounts to almost one quarter of its population. Is that the fault of Africans? Argentina believes that world hunger is not the fault of the world's peoples; it is not the result of volatile food prices, as some would like us to believe, but the result of poverty and the unfair distribution of wealth. Prices that are being kept artificially low by protectionist international agricultural trade and subsidies from developed countries are one of the principal reasons, affecting vast areas of the world. That is why we believe that the solution should be centred around increased food production with access for more people.

Another fundamental issue that Argentina believes should be addressed is financial speculation, through the application of adequate, balanced regulations and instruments — something that is greatly needed by African countries and those in Latin America and the Caribbean. Briefly, concerning the current global economic and financial crisis, I would also like to say that African, Latin American and Caribbean countries are united in demanding changes to the international monetary and financial system. Only substantial change to the rules, structure and operations of the International Monetary Fund and other institutions can ensure that the monetary system is compatible with the goals of a sustainable world economy. The financial system cannot continue to operate as though nothing had happened. We are being given the same recipes that led to disaster before in poor and developing countries, and today they threaten social cohesion and the quality of democracy in developed countries.

Briefly, concerning human rights, I would like to highlight the importance of the Council's inclusion of the gender perspective and the equality of women in peacekeeping operations in terms of the prevention of violence against women and children and their full participation in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution. We also feel that it is essential to maintain and strengthen development assistance and the capacities of democratic States. In that context, we believe that the protection of the rights of children and providing young people with equal opportunities and conditions are crucial.

Fifthly, concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes, Argentina firmly believes that any method that settles disputes peacefully is also worth using for settling conflicts. In that regard, we stress the special role that the Charter of the United Nations entrusts to the Secretary-General in the area of good offices and mediation, as well as the obligation incumbent upon all Member States to consent to the peaceful resolution of disputes.

We have great respect for the fraternal nations of Africa with regard to issues that my country believes affect them, situations where peace in Africa is constantly threatened. We stress the importance of the African Union's growing participation through various mechanisms in helping to settle conflicts affecting Africa. The United Nations should not impose formulas that claim to be a rigid road map for our peoples while representing the interests of only a few.

Given that most of the situations being considered by the Security Council have their origin in Africa, Argentina considers that, in any Security Council reform, the issue of the representation of the African continent in this body is particularly important. It is also essential that we rigorously implement the arms embargoes and request States to seek to ensure that their citizens or companies avoid violating those sanctions. Similarly, the fundamental debate on the scope, mandates and nature of peacekeeping operations must be considered in the light of the experience gained in Africa. There are many challenges, but undoubtedly we are on our way to finding and establishing the rules of the game for a more fair, egalitarian and balanced world.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are glad to welcome you, Madam Minister, to the presidency of the Security Council. We are grateful to the delegation of Rwanda for convening this meeting on this very important topic, namely, the prevention of conflicts in Africa by addressing the root causes. Undoubtedly, that issue is crucial to the maintenance of international peace and security.

In recent years the United Nations as a whole, the Security Council, the leadership of the Secretariat and many regional and subregional organizations have carried out significant work in identifying the causes of conflicts and preventing them, including those on the African continent. In that regard, it is clear that the focus should be placed primarily on broadly overcoming the many political, social, economic and humanitarian problems that are compounded by a host of new transnational challenges and threats. They include international terrorism, religious extremism, organized crime, drug trafficking, the illegal arms trade and the illegal exploitation of natural resources. Of course, that list is far from complete.

Quick and simple solutions to the main challenges in the area of conflict prevention do not exist. A balanced strategy that takes into account the relationship between security, social and economic development and human rights must be developed. At same time, we believe that the primary responsibility for the prevention of conflicts in Africa lies with the inhabitants of the continent themselves. Any assistance from international partners in that area should not be imposed. The same holds true for the duplication of efforts and, especially, competition by non-regional forces, which are counterproductive.

The successful prevention of conflicts, in particular in Africa, depends on the skilful use of a number of specific tools, including early warning and response, preventive diplomacy, mediation, good offices, reconciliation and confidence-building measures. Significant return is reaped by investing in conflict prevention and by strengthening the capacity of the United Nations, both in logistical and intellectual terms.

Russia considers it very important to continue to use of the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations while encouraging regional and subregional organizations to take initiatives in the areas of preventive diplomacy and the peaceful settlement of disputes. That chapter encourages Member States to prioritize measures aimed at preventing conflicts, ranging from the use of local instruments through the use of the Security Council.

The United Nations and regional organizations are called upon to complement each other by using their objective comparative advantages. For the United Nations, its strength is, first of all, the universal nature of its work and membership, as well as its universally recognized legitimacy. Regional and subregional organizations, in turn, can often have the best knowledge of the situation within their areas of responsibility and, in many cases, have more customized preventive diplomacy mechanisms that take into account the local specifics. There has also certainly been no change to the Charter of the United Nations, which gives the Security Council the leading role in maintaining international peace and security.

In order to prevent conflicts in Africa, the inhabitants of the continent need to play a key role themselves. It is important to adopt comprehensive and consistent measures to prevent the development of illegal armed groups and strengthen good neighbourly relations; to expand cooperation in order to ensure border security; to prevent the spread of conflicts, arms or mercenaries

across borders; to ensure effective State Governments; to combat poverty and mass unemployment, especially among youth; and to combat corruption. That list could be continued.

We welcome the increasing activity of the African Union and subregional organizations in Africa to prevent conflict on the continent. A central role in those efforts is played by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, the Continental Early Warning System and the Panel of the Wise. We attach great importance to the African Standby Force. The African Peer Review Mechanism and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance should be effective instruments to eradicate the root causes of conflict.

Subregional organizations, including the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, the Economic Community of West African States, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the Southern African Development Community and the Economic Community of Central African States, also make significant contributions to the prevention and resolution of conflicts. We support strengthening the partnership between the Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union to resolve crises. We further support the continuing development of cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union in other formats as well. Another important factor is the cooperation between the Organization and African subregional organizations.

As a permanent member of the Security Council, Russia is making a significant contribution to the development of strategies for the international community and practical measures to strengthen peace and security in Africa, including the prevention of conflicts. We are providing consistent political support to the appropriate forces of the African community. We are prepared to continue to contribute to the strengthening of the African continent's ability to combat crises, including through the training of African peacekeepers and law enforcement officials in Russian institutions.

We are convinced that any obstacles to preventing conflict can best be overcome through partnership. There should be no preaching or ideological stereotypes imposed from the outside.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation thanks the delegation of Rwanda for its initiative in convening this open Security Council meeting on the theme "Prevention of conflicts in Africa: addressing the root causes". I welcome Her Excellency Minister Mushikiwabo in presiding over today's meeting. I also thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon for his briefing and thank His Excellency Ambassador Tekeda Alemu, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia, for his statement on behalf of the Chairperson of the African Union.

In recent years, the overall situation of peace and security in Africa has remained stable. The aspirations of the African peoples for peace and stability have been growing. The capabilities of African countries and regional organizations in responding to their own peace and security issues have been reinforced. Nonetheless, Africa remains the continent with the highest concentration of conflicts and the most fragile security situation. Taking effective measures to prevent African conflicts, in particular by addressing the root causes of African conflicts, is of great importance for the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

The root causes of conflict in Africa are complicated. There are territorial, religious and ethnic problems left over by history's legacy. There are also practical problems faced by African countries, such as poverty, underdevelopment and weak capacities. Addressing the root causes of conflicts in Africa calls for integrated measures that address both the symptoms and the root causes. I wish to underscore the following points.

First, effectively helping Africa to achieve economic growth and social progress is the fundamental means to address the root causes of African conflicts. In the light of the priority areas identified by African countries themselves, China calls upon the international community to further increase investment in Africa and comprehensively honour its commitments of assistance and debt relief. Walking the talk is essential. Africa is by no means the private domain of any single country. Developed countries should be positive and open-minded in viewing the mutually beneficial cooperation among emerging countries and Africa and should work together with them for the rejuvenation and development of Africa.

Secondly, the will of African countries should be fully respected. African countries' exploration of their development paths in line with national conditions is conducive to eliminating the root causes of conflicts

and to realizing long-term stability. The international community should fully respect African choices and refrain from arbitrary interventions or the imposition of ideas on others. The vast African continent is a big family with a shared destiny. African countries and regional organizations have the deepest understanding of their own regional issues.

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, a milestone in the African peoples' aspirations in pursuit of alliance and self-renewal.

The international community should uphold the principles of objectivity and impartiality. It should comprehensively and actively support African people in addressing African problems with African means and the efforts and the constructive role of the African Union and regional and subregional organizations in addressing African conflicts. The international judicial system should also play a constructive role in promoting the realization of peace and security in Africa. The International Criminal Court should uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, while respecting the judicial traditions and realistic needs of African countries and avoiding double standards.

Thirdly, to effectively help Africa mobilize resources, capacity-building in Africa should be stepped up. Resource and capacity constraints represent the biggest bottleneck for African countries and regional organizations in seeking to address the root causes of conflicts. In the light of the needs of Africa, we call on the international community to actively provide assistance in such areas as politics, capital, technology and capacity-building. We hope that the United Nations will further enhance coordination and cooperation with Africa and actively respond to Africa's requests for the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping operations and the provision of financial and technical support.

Fourthly, to enhance international coordination and collaboration, various United Nations agencies, the relevant peacekeeping operations, special political missions and the relevant countries and regional organizations should further enhance communication and pool resources so as to maximize synergy and help Africa to eradicate the root causes of conflicts. It is essential to leverage the role of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission in helping post-conflict countries consolidate peace.

China attaches great importance to preventing conflict and addressing the root causes of conflicts in Africa. For a long time we have been providing substantial assistance to Africa through various channels and platforms, including the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation. Not long ago, Chinese President Xi Jinping, during his visit to Africa, reiterated the solemn position of China to unswervingly enhance solidarity with and mutual assistance for African countries and to continue increasing assistance to Africa within its capabilities.

China has always constructively participated in peace and security issues in Africa. It has continued to support the efforts of African countries and the African Union and other regional organizations to safeguard their national sovereignty and address their own problems. During the fifth ministerial meeting of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, in 2012, China launched the China-Africa Cooperative Partnership initiative, which will continue to provide financial and technical assistance to Africa for maintenance of peace and security.

China will continue to work with the international community to make its due contributions to the realization of sustainable peace in Africa.

Mr. Mehdiyev (Azerbaijan): I would like to start by expressing our gratitude to the Rwandan presidency of the Security Council for organizing this important meeting to discuss the ways of addressing the root causes of conflicts in Africa. I would also like to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon and Ambassador Tekeda Alemu for their statements.

In 1998, the Secretary-General submitted the first comprehensive report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa (S/1998/318). That detailed report provided a clear and candid analysis of the sources of conflicts in Africa and put forward important recommendations to reduce conflict and build a strong and durable peace. At the heart of the report was a call to African countries and to the international community to demonstrate political will in order to transform the rhetoric into reality and to take concrete actions in a number of areas. After 15 years, that call still maintains its relevance.

In the past decade, Africa as a whole has made significant progress. Many African States have taken serious steps towards political stability, democratization and sustainable economic and social development.

However, despite all the efforts and achievements, the goal of peace and prosperity on the African continent has yet to be re- lized. Ongoing old conflicts and emerging new ones and instability, coupled with political, security, economic and humanitarian challenges, have not ceased.

Notwithstanding the diversity among the African countries in many respects, as well as the differences in their external and domestic political aspirations, their economic development dynamics and their social fabrics, the root causes of conflicts are, on the whole, similar and interlinked. They are also complex and multifaceted. It is not possible to define one single underlying caus- or to design a universal solution to all conflicts in the continent. A comprehensive, integrated and radical response and consistent engagement of international, regional and national actors are critical in that regard.

As a country suffering from the occupation of a significant part of its territory and the forcible displacement of hundreds of thousands of its citizens, Azerbaijan fully understands the threats and challenges affecting countries with unresolved conflicts, including those in Africa. We proceed from the firm position that all efforts aimed at preventing and resolving conflicts in Africa and elsewhere must be based on the principles of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of States.

Further resolute and targeted measures are required to end impunity for the most serious crimes of concern to the international community. In particular, ending impunity is important not only for prosecuting and bringing to justice those responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, ethnic cleansing or other grave violations of international humanitarian law, but also for ensuring sustainable peace, truth and reconciliation. In any event, the conflict prevention and resolution initiatives considered by the Security Council and regional arrangements must ensure that peace and justice work together effectively.

The illegal exploitation of and trade in natural resources in Africa remain one of the factors conducive to the emergence and recurrence of conflicts. There is a need to address that issue through employing a range of instruments to limit the trade in conflict resources. International assistance should be enhanced to ensure the effectiveness of national and regional initiatives designed to address the negative implications of the illegal exploitation of natural resources in all its aspects.

In recent years, remarkable efforts have been displayed by the African Union, as a leading regional player, and subregional organizations in Africa to collectively promote peace, security and stability on the continent. We have also seen significant progress in developing the strategic partnership between the United Nations and the African Union.

At the same time, it should be stressed that responsibility for peace and security in Africa, including addressing the root causes of conflicts, lies primarily with African countries, whereas the international community, including the United Nations, should support and complement the relevant national and regional processes.

Enhanced cooperation with the African Union and its member States is one of the foreign policy priorities of Azerbaijan. We fully support the approach that international efforts to prevent conflicts and consolidate peace in Africa should be channelled towards sustainable development and human and institutional capacity-building in African countries in line with their priorities and the relevant capacities of African organizations.

My country has implemented various assistance programmes and provided financial aid to alleviate humanitarian challenges in some African countries. We are determined to continue our dialogue with the African Union and its member States and to jointly explore further opportunities to deepen our engagement in many areas critical to establishing peace and prosperity on the African continent.

Ms. Lucas (Luxembourg) (*spoke in French*): Luxembourg would like to thank Rwanda for organizing this briefing during its presidency of the Security Council on a topic of great importance, that is, "Prevention of conflicts in Africa: addressing the root causes". We are honoured to have you, Madam President, presiding personally over this meeting.

The conflicts that unfortunately destabilize certain parts of the African continent engender devastating violence, which has resulted in systematic violations of human rights, including those of women and children, large-scale sexual violence, massive internal displacement, worsening humanitarian crises and the destruction of infrastructure. Those conflicts bring socioeconomic development and poverty eradication efforts to a brutal halt. It is a fact that violent conflict constitutes one of the principal obstacles to the

achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. It prevents millions of individuals from living in dignity.

In that context, it is up to the Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and to the whole United Nations system to strengthen their efforts, in harmony with the African Union, regional organizations and African States, to prevent conflict in Africa by tackling its root causes, thereby contributing to ensuring lasting peace.

For our part, we would like to emphasize certain root causes that in general constitute triggers and drivers of conflict. We also wish to underline elements of a response before addressing two specific cases: the Sahel region and the Great Lakes region.

It is the primary responsibility of States to prevent conflict. We therefore believe that there is a need to pay renewed attention to models of governance, including economic governance, and to the paths of democracy, as well as to the strengthening of State institutions that have legitimacy and competence, which improve the security and socioeconomic well-being of all citizens.

Certainly there is no single model of governance, but to prevent conflicts, to promote peace and to lay the groundwork for sustainable development in Africa, it is important to put in place an inclusive political and economic governance that allows for an equitable redistribution of wealth, guarantees all citizens better social protection and gives priority to the creation of decent work, especially jobs for young people. In certain cases, the illegal exploitation of natural resources and the absence of land rights constitute a trigger for conflict. We believe that particular attention should be given to the transparent management of natural resources and of the revenue those resources generate for State budgets.

Luxembourg's experience in the context of the Peacebuilding Commission strengthens our conviction that such a holistic approach — which links sustainable socioeconomic development, peacebuilding and security and the promotion of human rights and the rule of law — is indispensable to prevent a relapse into conflict and violence. In that context, security and defence sector reform, in a spirit of national ownership, is of particular importance. Peacebuilding and State-building aim at renewing the social contract and at building trust between a State and its citizens, with a view to building the foundations of a just, prosperous and peaceful society.

The fight against impunity for the most serious crimes is an important element of conflict prevention. There can be no lasting peace without justice. The pursuit of justice and the quest for peace are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. National criminal justice systems, which also represent a key link in transitional justice, constitute the first line of defence against impunity. In a complementary fashion, the International Criminal Court plays a crucial role in bringing to an end the most serious crimes — the crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and, in the future, the crime of aggression. The deterrent effect of the Court's mere existence enables the bolstering of conflict prevention. We regret, therefore, that it was not possible to include an explicit reference to the International Criminal Court in the draft presidential statement that we will adopt in the context of this meeting.

Since the 2005 World Summit, Luxembourg has supported the elaboration and the implementation of the principle of the responsibility to protect, so as to avoid the recurrence of crimes against humanity, notably genocide, like those committed during the last century in Europe, as well as in Rwanda. We owe it to the memory of the millions of victims of crimes of the past to refine that principle together, as the United Nations. We welcome the fact that the principle is clearly reflected in the draft presidential statement.

We would like to underline the importance of partnerships and cooperation among the Security Council, the African Union and subregional organizations in the area of conflict prevention. Luxembourg supports efforts undertaken to develop the partnership between the European Union and Africa in that context. The European Union has provided more than €50 million to support the operationalization of the African Peace and Security Architecture. Those resources allow for a strengthening of the capacities of the African Union Commission and of the subregional organizations, notably the mechanism of the Continental Early Warning System, the Panel of the Wise and the African Standby Force.

The regional dimension of conflict prevention has rightly received increased attention in recent years. In the case of the Sahel region, the multifaceted crisis, which led Mali to the edge of the precipice at the beginning of this year, should come as a lesson. It is now more urgent

than ever to define an integrated strategy for the Sahel region that would make it possible to prevent conflict for all States in the region in a lasting way. Ultimately, it could also be useful for the United Nations to define an integrated strategy for the Horn of Africa.

In the case of the Great Lakes region, we welcome the signing, on 24 February, of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region. The signing of this framework agreement represents a unique opportunity to break the cycle of violence and to tackle the root causes of the conflict by stressing regional cooperation, including terms of trade. For the framework agreement not to end up like the regional agreements of 2004 and 2006, which have remained dead letters, all signatories will have to fulfil their part of the bargain, and the international community must fully support them.

In conclusion, I should like to underline that Luxembourg's commitment in Africa bears witness to our conviction that we need to adopt a holistic and multidimensional approach that encompasses conflict prevention, the consolidation of peace and the maintenance of international peace and security. Such an approach would recognize the intrinsic link between security and development, two objectives that can be achieved only through respect for and the protection of human rights and the rule of law.

Mr. Masood Khan (Pakistan): We welcome to the Security Council Ms. Louise Mushikiwabo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rwanda, and we commend you on presiding over today's debate. We also thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Togo, Mr. Elliot Ohin, and Ambassador Tekeda Alemu of Ethiopia for their statements. We also thank the Secretary-General for his briefing and support his efforts and initiatives to prevent and resolve conflicts in Africa.

Let me start on a positive note. Four things distinguish Africa today, namely, an impressive economic turnaround, Africa's growing ownership of its destiny, the effective leadership demonstrated by the African Union and subregional African organizations, and the successes in Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire in conflict resolution and management. We also welcome the recent signing of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region.

Despite that good news, the fact is that roughly 62 per cent of the items on the Council's agenda are African issues. Some issues are perennial and protracted, others have shown recurrent relapse. Still others point to the fragility of the peace and stability that were so painstakingly achieved.

What are the divers of conflict in Africa? Without sounding facile, we can say that they are perceived to be the legacy of artificial borders, the exploitation of Africa's natural resources, poverty, ethnic and tribal divisions, the illicit trafficking in small arms and, now, the rise of extremism and terrorism, with their national, transnational and global dimensions. However, Africa has decided to address those challenges head-on, and it is determined to succeed. Africa is forging ahead. For Africa, those are existential — and not mere historical — issues.

Pakistan has a long-standing and abiding commitment to stability and progress in Africa. We were steadfast partners in Africa's struggle to exercise its right to self-determination against colonial rule. Over the past 53 years, Pakistani peacekeepers have played an instrumental role in peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding in Africa. With the help of other partners, we have also worked to prevent the relapse of conflicts in a number of post-conflict situations in Africa. Thus far, more than 132 of our brave peacekeepers have laid down their lives, 119 of them in Africa. To date, we have contributed more than 140,000 United Nations peacekeepers worldwide. Today, 8,221 Pakistani peacekeepers are deployed in six peacekeeping missions, 8,075 of which are deployed in Africa.

We believe that greater reliance on the tools for preventive diplomacy provided under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as those for coordination under Chapter VIII, will help prevent conflicts and stall their recrudescence.

Structural prevention in Africa can be achieved by strengthening the nexus between security, development and human rights, without embarking on the more treacherous path of nation building. Nations will be built by their own people, not by the Security Council or the African Union, which can legitimately help them prevent conflicts.

Integrated peacekeeping missions ensure that efforts to address the root causes of conflict continue even after the departure of peacekeeping missions. Those missions assist in security sector reform (SSR), disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR),

the rule of law, the enforcement and monitoring of human rights and national reconciliation. We laud the role of the United Nations regional offices in providing services to prevent conflicts and in helping post-conflict countries with good offices, mediation, dialogue, electoral assistance and assistance for SSR and DDR. Similarly, the Peacebuilding Commission's role is also critical in preventing the fresh eruption of conflicts.

The economic development of Africa is the best way to address the root causes of conflicts. Over the past several years, Africa has experienced strong economic growth and an improvement in social development indicators. This year, Africa's gross domestic product is projected to grow by 6 per cent, and the continent is poised to become middle income by 2030. Since 2005, foreign direct investment flows have increased by 50 per cent, and there is a boom in investment conferences on Africa. Emphasis on optimal population growth, urbanization, technology and good governance are redefining the African landscape.

That does not mean that aid flows should dry up. On the contrary, many countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, need massive assistance for their economies and social sectors.

Africa has resorted to the wide array of tools available under Chapter VI, with a view to preventing disputes and conflicts. African countries have put in place a solid peace and security architecture through regional and subregional organizations, with built-in mechanisms for conflict prevention and mediation. Bodies such as the Peace and Security Council and the Panel of the Wise give strength to that architecture.

The African Union has provided strategic coherence, leadership and on-the-ground management in nearly all of the conflicts on the continent. Through close partnership, it has added value to the work of the United Nations, particularly that of the Security Council and the Peacebuilding Commission.

In recent times, there have been new flare-ups in Mali, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Sudan and South Sudan. We are now witnessing the rise of terrorism, drug and weapons trafficking and piracy. The entire Sahel region is under threat of destabilization due to the rise of organized crime. The conflict in Mali is linked to terrorism and organized crime.

The integrated United Nations strategy for the Sahel region, backed by the necessary financial resources, must be made to work. The United Nations should continue to provide support to strengthen the African Union's capacity for conflict prevention under the umbrella of the 10-year capacity-building programme for the African Union. The deployment of the African-led International Support Mission in Mali underscores the commitment of the continent to address its conflicts. However, that is being hampered by a shortage of resources.

Let me now turn to two pressing issues that have been identified as potential sources of conflict by the Secretary-General, that is, youth education and employment and conflict and natural resources.

Some 60 per cent of Africa's population of 1 billion is under the age of 25. That youth bulge, if not harnessed properly, could have grave costs. It is therefore important to have a comprehensive and integrated approach to youth development.

The continent is rich in natural resources, but poor in wealth. Fights over natural resources, the absence of land rights and land tenure systems and the large-scale acquisition of land by foreigners for industrial agriculture or logging keep fuelling and re-igniting conflicts. The Security Council and the countries concerned should make greater efforts to identify and bring to justice those who are benefiting from that illegal exploitation of natural resources in Africa, both within and outside the countries concerned. African countries should be given assistance to exploit their resources and get a fair share of their trade.

In conclusion, we would like to underscore that conflict prevention works, and works best when there is synergy among all the relevant institutions and actors. The United Nations and the international community must therefore invest more in conflict-prevention mechanisms. It is far better to invest in conflict prevention than to expend resources in dealing with the aftermath of conflicts. Pakistan stands ready to engage in that effort.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): I thank you, Madam President, for convening this important meeting this morning. I should like to take the opportunity to congratulate Rwanda on its presidency of the Security Council this month. I also thank the Secretary-General for his briefing and Ambassador

Alemu for his statement on behalf of the Chairperson of the African Union.

Conflicts in Africa continue to take a devastating toll on the continent. Lives are needlessly lost. Populations face brutal consequences, such as sexual violence, the use of child soldiers and mass displacement. Conflict has also stopped Africa delivering on its enormous potential. Africa has vast natural resources, some of the fastest growing economies in the world and, in the African Union, an increasingly strong and influential continental organization. However, only by addressing the root causes of conflict can Africa secure sustainable peace and unlock that potential.

As is known only too well, 800,000 people tragically died in the Rwandan genocide. That mass atrocity threatened the very existence of Rwanda and its people. The international community recognizes with shame that we should have done more. We said never again. The doctrine of the responsibility to protect was endorsed by all Members at the World Summit in 2005 as a means of delivering on that promise. The responsibility to protect is the foremost responsibility that sovereign Governments owe to their populations, but the international community also has the responsibility to support and assist States in that task.

Today, we take stock of our performance in tackling conflict in Africa. We should admit that we are not doing well. In the past few months alone, crises in Mali, the Central African Republic and the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have emerged or worsened. We must learn the lessons of our failure. We must better spot the warning signs and act accordingly. We must use the right tools at the right time.

The United Kingdom believes that representative, legitimate and inclusive political systems, unwavering respect for human rights and the rule of law and social and economic development are the most important factors that help to prevent conflict in Africa, as elsewhere. The crisis in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo reminds us that, when such factors are absent, it is very difficult to break the cycle of conflict. Delivering effective national institutions is a key part of upstream prevention. We need to help national Governments in building capacity through mechanisms such as the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States. All Member States should invest early in such fragile States. The work of the United Nations on civilian capacities and the efforts of African countries to share expertise and experiences are also important.

The United Kingdom particularly welcomes last week's commitment by the Group of Eight Foreign Ministers to take steps that address and deter sexual violence, which too often accompanies and fuels conflict. We will follow up that initiative during our Security Council presidency in June.

When a crisis is on the horizon, we need to spot it early. That means, as the Secretary-General told us, that improving our early-warning systems is vital. The United Nations Office for West Africa and the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa are starting to play a role, but it is not yet enough. We hope that the recently established United Nations Crisis Operations Centre will also make a difference but, equally, early warning is useful only when it is acted upon. The United Nations is slowly getting better at mediation and preventative diplomacy but there is much more to be done. Too many members of the Council shy away from their responsibilities with regard to conflict prevention.

Where conflict breaks out, we must hold those responsible accountable and demonstrate that impunity will not be tolerated. The International Criminal Court and the other regional tribunals are vital to ending impunity. We need to facilitate the transitional justice that enables countries to emerge and to recover from violent conflict.

Preventing conflict and addressing its root causes are a long-term and complex process. If we are to succeed in helping African States in that endeavour, we must work together to support local processes and to build local capacities. That means, as others have said, that we should support the African Union Peace and Security Council in its conflict-prevention work, while respecting the Security Council's global responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. We must promote preventative diplomacy and transform the United Nations culture of post-conflict response into prevention before a conflict. We must never stop learning lessons about what works and what does not. We must deliver on our promise of never again.

Mr. Loulichki (Morocco) (*spoke in French*): Your personal presence, Madam President, at today's debate on the prevention of conflicts in Africa shows the importance that your country, Rwanda, attaches to the security, stability and development of our continent. We welcome the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs

and Cooperation of Togo and commend the strength of the message that he transmitted to the Council today on the topic of peace in Africa. My Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had originally planned to join the Council for today's debate, asked me to convey his sincere regrets that he was not able to do so for urgent reasons that required his presence in Rabat. We would like to thank the Secretary-General for his contribution to the debate, as well as our colleague, Mr. Tekeda Alemu, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia, for the perspective that he has brought to our debate on behalf of our continent, Africa.

Today's debate takes place at a time when Africa is preparing to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the African Union as a result of the merger of the Casablanca and Monrovia groups and the far-sighted and bold vision of the founding fathers of African unity. It also occurs at a time when major challenges to the security and stability of several African States are emerging. Such challenges have given rise to an unprecedented mobilization of Africa, in particular at the subregional level, through the mediation of the Economic Community of West African States, the Economic Community of Central African States and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region.

Africa has significantly won the day in terms of economic and social development, good governance and respect for the fundamental rights of its citizens. However, almost half a century after its decolonization, our continent still faces various crises that continue to destabilize it. While a significant set of multilateral, regional, subregional and national mechanisms, as well as arrangements established in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, have be set up to prevent and manage conflicts, to build peace and to protect civilians and human rights, the fact remains that the lives of millions of men, women and children in Africa continue today to be threatened by cycles of conflict and by the re-emergence of separatism at a high human cost, jeopardizing all efforts for the sustainable development and growth of the continent.

That can be explained less by the failure of established mechanisms that have undoubtedly spared millions of lives in Africa and elsewhere than by the lack of action with regard to the root causes that give rise to or fuel conflicts. Such underlying causes, referred to in great detail this morning by Ambassador Gert Rosenthal, have their roots internally in the difficulties encountered by some States to strengthen their State institutions, to manage democratic transitions and to promote sustainable socioeconomic development. Externally, the regional dimension of conflicts on the continent is becoming ever more important, as is the destabilizing effect of international criminal and terrorist networks.

All conflict-prevention and -resolution policies must incorporate the establishment of a national and regional environment conducive to peace and stability, addressing in an integrated and comprehensive manner the underlying multidimensional causes of conflict.

At the national level, recent developments in Africa have underscored the importance of putting in place governance models and national institutions that are efficient and credible through participatory and inclusive processes that continuously seek to meet the aspirations of populations, especially of women and young people, who are the primary targets of conflict, and aiming at the promotion of democracy, good governance, the rule of law and socioeconomic progress.

Considerable progress has been made on the continent in terms of political participation and socioeconomic development. That progress needs to be sustained and taken further, with full respect for the sovereignty of African countries, to establish an environment conducive to social harmony.

Furthermore, it goes without saying that there can be no peace without sustainable development. Poverty eradication is an important and essential measure for establishing lasting peace and stability on the continent.

Against the backdrop of the growing funds and ever more accessible sophisticated technology at the disposal of armed groups, separatist movements and terrorist and criminal networks, the building of African States' capacities to extend their authority throughout their territories and improve border controls is of crucial importance.

African States must be supported in establishing modern security institutions capable of safeguarding security across their territories and protecting their citizens. In that context, we commend the efforts made by the United Nations and Africa's bilateral partners to strengthen African capacities, especially in security sector reform and in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

In the light of the ever more regional character of conflicts, it is important for States to come together and support each other more in the interests of common and shared stability, overcoming bilateral differences, be they real or artificial, that impede the establishment of effective and inclusive cooperation. Such cooperation is today a necessity for responding to the multidimensional threats affecting all of the subregions of Africa. The destabilizing activities of criminal and terrorist networks have become a real and palpable threat to the stability, sovereignty and territorial integrity of African countries. They require the rapid development of greater synergy at the bilateral, subregional and international levels.

Strengthening cooperation between the United Nations and the affected countries of the region and the subregion to support State institutions and the various mechanisms established at the subregional level to tackle the underlying causes of conflicts is more essential than ever.

We welcome the ever more integrated approach taken to peace and security, development and the humanitarian situations by the Organization, as seen in the Sahel region.

The vision set out in the 1992 document entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (S/24111) is highly relevant for strengthening the preventative dimension of the action of the United Nations. It is important for the Organization to continue moving forward with that vision while seeking the peaceful resolution of disputes, especially through negotiation, promoting realistic, pragmatic and lasting approaches and encouraging parties to find compromises, free of any coercion.

I cannot conclude without paying tribute to the tireless efforts and personal commitment of the Secretary-General to preventing conflict in Africa through his good offices and his personal envoys and special representatives, as well as for the remarkable work carried out by the various United Nations entities on the ground in favour of peace, stability and development in Africa. I would also like to pay tribute to the important contribution made by Blue Helmets to preserving peace, especially in Africa.

Mr. Kim Sook (Republic of Korea): At the outset, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to you, Madam, and the Rwandan presidency for convening this important meeting. I also extend my appreciation to the Secretary-General for his insightful briefing and to Ambassador Tekeda Alemu, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia, who spoke on behalf of the Chairperson of the African Union (AU).

The draft presidential statement that we will adopt today appropriately stresses the necessity of addressing the root causes of conflicts in Africa and provides for useful measures, not only at the national but also the regional and international levels.

Africa has shown leadership in its effort to prevent and resolve conflicts in the region. The commitment of African leaders has borne fruit. The number and intensity of conflicts in the region have been reduced in the past decade. However, peace and security challenges in Africa still constitute the majority of the work of the Security Council, and the international community must remain resilient in tackling the root causes. Addressing the root causes is a broad agenda that encompasses the political, socioeconomic, humanitarian and governance areas.

The early prevention of conflicts cannot only prevent casualties, but also provides an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of economic development. Sustainable development should be secured as a top priority, with a long-term perspective. We recognize the mutually reinforcing linkage between development and security. In that sense, it is encouraging that Africa has shown remarkable economic progress for the past decade. Per capita real gross domestic product has increased by 30 per cent, and foreign investment has tripled over the past 10 years. African States and the international community should make efforts not to lose the current stream of economic development.

The building of strong and effective national institutions should be addressed, given the fact that a large number of new civil wars have occurred in countries that had already had civil wars. Institution-building efforts should be carried out to incorporate the principal of national ownership, the inclusion of diverse stakeholders, the participation of women, the inclusion of new, integrated approaches in targeted sectors, and the strengthening of civilian capacity and cooperation between the AU and the United Nations.

It is notable that overall governance in Africa has been enhanced. However, African Sates are encouraged to share lessons learned in post-conflict process, as the cycle of conflict takes similar forms in many places.

African States should also meet their primary responsibility to end impunity with the utmost urgency.

Ending the culture of impunity is a prerequisite for the prevention of conflicts. In that regard, as a party to the Rome Statute, we value the important role of the International Criminal Court.

Despite that great progress, Africa still faces challenges when it comes to conflict-prevention efforts. Challenges include the unique diversity and complexity of the situations, the diverse stakeholders involved in the conflict, a lack of political will and insufficient resources and capacities for the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Those challenges still hinder the early and effective prevention of conflicts. Focus should be put on the effective implementation of the current mechanisms. At the national and local levels, locally driven solutions tailored to the specific conditions prevailing should be promoted. Homegrown conflict-resolution mechanisms rooted in local practice can fill the gap and meet local needs for justice, peace and reconciliation. Institutions of national pride and integrity, such as a forum of elders, can offer a path to conflict prevention, reconciliation and peacebuilding. Homegrown solutions can provide the best answers to conflicts involving diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

At the regional level, African leadership and ownership of the region's peace and security challenges is imperative. We note and commend the African peace and security architecture. We also recognize the constructive initiatives of the regional and subregional organizations in coming up with creative alternatives in conflict prevention and resolution.

The concept of a neutral international force, initiated by the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, has finally borne fruit with the introduction of an Intervention Brigade within the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Effective burden-sharing with regional and subregional organizations is not only cost-effective but also leads to successful results.

The conflict-prevention tools used by the United Nations Office in West Africa are a good example of good offices and mediation activities being conducted in close cooperation with the AU and the Economic Community of West African States. Yet African States must show greater commitment and a stronger will in the context of conflict prevention by providing more resources to regional and subregional initiatives.

At the international level, we note that the strategic partnership between the United Nations and the AU has been growing steadily through the holding of annual consultations between the AU Peace and Security Council and the United Nations Security Council. That is a good indication of the political will of the Security Council, given that the AU Peace and Security Council is the only regional organization with which the Security Council meets annually. It is also a good sign that some of the recommendations made by the AU Council form the basis of the Security Council's deliberations, as was recognized in resolution 2046 (2012), on the Sudan.

However, the political relations between the two organs can be improved by building confidence and securing predictability. In addition, the Security Council should enhance its communication with regional and subregional peace and security bodies.

As part of our own efforts to build a stronger partnership with African States, the Republic of Korea has been organizing the Korea-Africa Forum with the AU since 2006. The Seoul Declaration adopted at the third Forum, hosted last October, deals with peace and security, trade and investment and development issues, with a view to deepening the Korea-Africa cooperative partnership. We are supporting capacity-building in the areas of security, poverty eradication and economic growth. We hope that those bilateral efforts will contribute to addressing the root causes of conflict in Africa.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I welcome your presence here, Madam President, and commend Rwanda's initiative to convene this debate on the prevention of conflict in Africa.

In 1994, Rwanda experienced an internecine genocide that resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths and that the United Nations and its Security Council were not able to stop. Therefore today no one is better placed than your country, Madam President, to know that in order to prevent a conflict, whatever its nature, it is crucial to address its root causes, which over time fuel resentment, stir up hatred and even, ultimately, lead to violence.

When a conflict looms, the United Nations uses conflict-prevention tools. The Secretary-General can use his good offices or appoint special envoys to conduct mediation. The Dakar and Libreville regional offices are there to support those efforts. For its part, the Security Council can send political messages or

take preventive measures, or even impose sanctions as necessary.

However, such preventive measures, which are aimed at alleviating existing tensions in the balance of power, sometimes come too late and are thus insufficient to curb antagonisms or stop the crisis from breaking out or the recurrence of a conflict. All too often, the United Nations is reduced to dealing only with security and humanitarian questions and seeking to minimize the impact of a conflict on the civilian population.

That is why, over and beyond managing the short-term factors causing conflict in Africa, the United Nations must continue to work to better anticipate problems by seeking to deal as soon as possible with the root causes of conflicts. Those causes are often multiple and complex. In Mali, for instance, the swift holding of democratic elections in July will be an important stage in the process of national reconciliation, but the country must hold an inclusive dialogue so as to resolve the long-standing demands of the different segments of Malian society, which contributed to plunging the country into chaos.

Conflicts can also be linked to economic and social issues. In the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for example, it will be indispensable, so as to put an end to the recurring crisis in the region, to address issues related to the dividing up of mining resources and arable land. The failure to involve women in decision-making and transition processes is also worrisome. We should support the implementation of mechanisms aimed at ensuring their full participation in reconciliation, crisis-resolution and electoral processes.

The absence of the rule of law, police and a justice system further intensifies those factors and represents, in and of itself, a structural cause of conflict. In the absence of credible military or police forces, all too often it is armed groups that take control of a region or a State. In Mali, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic, the weakness of the army and the police is what led to the conflicts we are seeing today. In Somalia, the strengthening of Transitional Government forces will be crucial to the lasting stabilization of the country.

Justice also plays a crucial role in the prevention of conflict. It is essential because impunity for criminals always fuels resentment, which leads yesterday's victims to want to take justice into their own hands and thereby become the criminals of tomorrow. Justice is also a permanent reminder that resort to violence is illegal and that the perpetrators of crimes, whoever they may be, will be punished. That is why the functioning of judicial institutions is key. Failing that, the International Criminal Court (ICC) must be able to punish the perpetrators of the most serious crimes. There can be no peace without justice. That is why we regret the absence of a reference to the ICC, which is an essential instrument for conflict prevention in Africa, in the draft presidential statement to be adopted later by the Council.

The great diversity of the root causes of conflicts should not represent a challenge to the competence of the Security Council. Even though economic or social issues are sometimes the causes of a conflict, the Council must be able to address them, in close cooperation with the African Union and subregional African organizations, in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter. The mediation conducted by President Mbeki between the Sudan and South Sudan, with the support of the Security Council, and the Secretary-General's Framework agreement on the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region, supported by the African Union, shows that the United Nations and African organizations today have the ability to tackle together the specific root causes of conflicts.

The actions of the Council can also be based on the principle of the responsibility to protect, which is an essential instrument to prevent atrocities. Its implementation has seen considerable progress since its consensus-based definition, in 2005. The State has the primary responsibility to protect its own population, but if it does not shoulder that responsibility, the international community has a duty to act resolutely. It cannot, at the risk of being complicit, stop at a passive principle of sovereignty and remain inactive in the face of massacres and mass rapes. In Libya, the Council was able to act preventively and it can be proud of that fact.

In conclusion, I would like to express our support for the draft presidential statement that Rwanda has presented, which we are prepared to adopt.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now take the floor in my capacity as the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of my country, Rwanda.

(*spoke in English*)

I have been honoured to preside over today's very important debate on the theme "Prevention of conflicts

in Africa: addressing the root causes". Allow me, first, to express my sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General for joining us earlier today. I also welcome the presence of my colleague, His Excellency Mr. Elliot Ohin, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Togo, as well as His Excellency Mr. Tekeda Elemu, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations, who is representing the Chairperson of the African Union (AU).

The rationale behind the selection of today's theme lies in the unfortunate fact that around 70 per cent of the Council's agenda relates to conflicts in Africa. Clashes, whether between countries or peoples or between States and their citizenry, are not unavoidable. There can be no issue that the Security Council faces that deserves greater focus or urgent attention than the prevention of conflict. As we shift energy and resources from conflict zone to conflict zone, from crisis to crisis, are we truly fulfilling our mission if we fail to properly examine the factors that cause conflicts and crises to begin with? While each conflict has its unique causes and consequences, there is also a discernible pattern from which we can draw and apply lessons. Those deep-rooted causes include the legacy of colonial rule for Africa, problems of nationality and identity, a lack of democracy and the rule of law, corruption and poor governance, foreign interference, poverty, famine and disease, and the exclusion of groups based on gender, ethnicity, religion, region and other criteria. Preventing conflicts is possible, provided that those elements are addressed and that leaders and stakeholders, together, do not shirk their responsibilities.

Collective efforts in advancing peace and security in Africa have come a long way since the Organization of African Unity was founded, 50 years ago. Since 2002, when the African Union succeeded the Organization of African Unity, Africans across the continent have demonstrated a growing capacity for working together in reducing and preventing conflicts. Of course, there are problems with inconsistent and poor implementation, and the African Union needs and has decided to do more and better. And yet, in my view, there is little doubt that the best initiatives for conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction are emerging from Africa itself, and the United Nations would do well to embrace those ideas.

Much has been said in this Chamber today on the root causes of conflict in Africa. I will therefore limit my statement to three key points — first, democracy and political and economic governance; secondly, regional and subregional integration; and, thirdly, justice and reconciliation.

On democracy and political and economic governance, when the Organization of African Unity was transformed into the African Union, governance, democracy and human rights became a centrepiece of the emergent agenda. Those principles were enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the African Union and in the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. The ethos of democracy and good governance embedded in the Constitutive Act sits alongside the guiding principle that peace and security are vital prerequisites for both. Furthermore, as some before me have pointed out earlier today, the AU has adopted processes that have at their core the promotion of governance as a conflict prevention tool, through building a more efficient, responsive and accountable public sector. One of those processes is the African Peer Review Mechanism, mentioned earlier, which assesses participating Governments against a set of agreed principles. It aims to promote and reinforce high standards of governance by analysing systemic or structural problems in countries under review and to provide advice and recommendations before crises erupt. The African Union Peace and Security Architecture was another milestone for integration and conflict prevention in Africa. It has established other important instruments, including the Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System and the African Standby Force. Should the Security Council not take careful note of those policy responses? Should it not ask how can we can adapt such initiatives and apply them on a global scale?

On regional and subregional integration, democracy and good governance are not the only tools for conflict prevention in Africa. Another is regional and subregional integration. The vision of the African Union is to build an integrated, prosperous and peaceful continent, driven by its own citizens and capable of standing as a dynamic force in the world. We have sought to build a strong and prosperous African Union with each of its subregional building blocks being able to deal with its own conflicts without foreign interference and lift up the continent and its people. Take, for example, the recent efforts of such regional groupings as the Economic Community of West African States, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region,

the Economic Community of Central African States and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. Such targeted regional approaches allow us to address other issues that fuel conflict in Africa, such as artificial boundaries and the related issue of nationality and identity, and the remnants of our colonial past that act as conflict-enabling forces, as have been identified by other speakers today.

The collaboration and partnership among the Security Council, the African Union and its subregional organizations is of the utmost importance. We welcome the strengthening of that cooperation over recent years, including through the Ad Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa. Of course, we can do more, particularly in conflict prevention and resolution, while ensuring that the partnership is coherent, consistent and based on mutual respect.

Justice and reconciliation represent another important tool for conflict prevention in Africa. As the Council may be aware, Rwanda is commemorating this very month the nineteenth year of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi of our country. For Rwanda, justice and reconciliation are inextricably linked. After much trial and error, the Government and the people of Rwanda have come to embrace a home-grown system of reconciliatory justice known as Gacaca. Those courts, which closed their doors in June 2012, handled about 2 million cases in 10 years. Rwanda is in a position to share its unique experience with post-conflict societies, where it applies, of course, and as a means to bring about reconciliation and prevent further conflict. Meanwhile, as was mentioned by a few speakers earlier today, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, while establishing useful jurisprudence, particularly in the area of genocide as a crime and rape as a weapon of war, has handled only 75 cases in 17 years.

Another international tribunal, sometimes presented as a mechanism for conflict prevention, is the International Criminal Court, which was also mentioned earlier today. If any country in the world has reason to support a robust system of international justice, it is Rwanda. However, we do not believe that the International Criminal Court, as it operates today, plays a constructive role in preventing conflict; instead of delivering justice and preventing impunity, in practice the Court has shown itself subject to political manipulation from areas outside conflict zones as well as from competing factions within such zones. We cannot therefore support an international criminal court that condemns crimes committed by some and not by others, or that imposes itself on democratic processes or the will of sovereign peoples. Such a court cannot facilitate reconciliation, which is a vital precursor to peace.

Both as a sovereign nation and as an African member of the Security Council, Rwanda will continue to uphold the principles of justice and fairness and to ensure that the independence and sovereignty of the continent is respected. Once again, I urge the Council and the international community to focus on the structural prevention of conflicts and to examine their underlying political, social and economic causes. We have no doubt that an enhanced partnership between the African Union and the United Nations will yield a better outcome for the prevention of conflict on the continent. In addition, the personal vision and commitment of the Secretary-General to Africa's peace and security will remain an important ingredient in that regard.

I would like to conclude my remarks where I began. It is Rwanda's sincere hope that, through this debate, and in many future forums, the Security Council will direct its focus and energies towards preventing conflicts rather than the mere day-to-day management of crises once they have erupted.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The Council has before it the draft text of a statement by the President on behalf of the Council on the subject of today's meeting. I wish to thank Council members sincerely for their valuable contributions to the draft presidential statement. In accordance with the understanding reached among the members of the Council, I shall take it that they agree to that statement, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2013/4.

It is so decided.

There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6947

Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

Provisional

6947th meeting
Tuesday, 16 April 2013, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Gasana	(Rwanda)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Perceval
	Australia	Ms. King
	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	France	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg	Mr. Maes
	Morocco	Mr. Bouchaara
	Pakistan	Mr. Tarar
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Shin Dong Ik
	Russian Federation	Mr. Iliichev
	Togo	Mr. M'Beou
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Parham
	United States of America	Mr. DeLaurentis

Agenda

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (S/2013/197)

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13-29240 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (S/2013/197)

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Côte d'Ivoire to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Edmond Mulet, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2013/197, which contains the special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mulet.

Mr. Mulet (*spoke in French*): I should like to thank the Security Council for this opportunity to present the special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) (S/2013/197). The report contains the conclusions and recommendations of an assessment mission, which I led, in Côte d'Ivoire last February.

As is underscored in the report, Côte d'Ivoire has made good progress since the post-electoral crisis and has now moved into a new phase of peacebuilding, achieved after considerable effort. There has been significant progress in Côte d'Ivoire since our assessment in February 2012, particularly in recent months with regard to the security situation in general.

However, the recent instability in the western part of the country, along the border with Liberia, makes clear the fragility of the situation. That instability includes at least one confirmed cross-border attack that, unfortunately, resulted in a number of deaths and injuries as well as the displacement of people, particularly in sensitive areas close to the border.

The report takes note of the decisive direction taken by President Ouattara to deal with the immediate security challenges, speed up economic recovery and initiate sensitive processes such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, as well as reform of the security sector.

Although considerable challenges remain, the security situation in the border area with Liberia has improved significantly, following efforts at the highest level accompanied by strengthened cooperation between Abidjan and Monrovia at several levels, including with respect to the deployment of their national security forces along the border. The improvement in bilateral relations between Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana has also had a positive impact on the security situation, including along their common border.

(*spoke in English*)

Since the report was issued, Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia have taken further steps to enhance cross-border cooperation. On 5 April, in Monrovia, a quadripartite meeting was held that brought together the Governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia, as well as UNOCI and the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). During the meeting, participants agreed to reinforce coordinated border patrolling, revive the tripartite refugee commission and hold meetings with local communities, authorities and traditional chiefs from both sides of the border. The two Governments' agreement on such specific deliverables is very positive and demonstrates the impact of their strengthened relations and contacts at several levels. UNOCI and UNMIL will continue to work closely in support of the respective Governments in addressing border security challenges.

The overall progress notwithstanding, Côte d'Ivoire continues to face significant threats to its peace and security. Some of the major threats identified include political dynamics and remaining deep divisions; the continued existence of networks affiliated with the former regime aimed at destabilizing the Government; the reported presence of mercenaries, former combatants and other armed elements along the border with Liberia; the uncontrolled circulation of weapons; the slow progress with regard to reconciliation and security-sector reform; halting progress in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; divisions within and among the security agencies; continued human rights violations by formal and informal security agencies

with impunity; and intercommunity violence, land conflicts and poverty. The incidence of sexual and gender-based violence remains of particular concern.

Local elections will be held on Sunday, 21 April. Preparations are under way with UNOCI providing limited support, including to planning efforts of the Independent Electoral Commission, as well as enhanced coordination with, and limited logistical assistance to, Ivorian security forces to ensure a peaceful conduct of the elections. The electoral campaign opened on 6 April and has been conducted relatively peacefully. Both President Ouattara's Rassemblement des républicains (RDR) party and the former President Bédié's Parti démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire issued statements calling on their candidates to respect the Code of Good Conduct during the campaign period for the local elections. The former ruling Front populaire ivoirien (FPI) party chose not to participate in the elections, in spite of efforts to encourage them to occupy their legitimate political space.

As outlined in the report before the Council, the Government's gestures towards the opposition and its engagement in direct discussions are encouraging. Agreement was reportedly reached on a number of issues, including the need to return Forces républicaines de Côte d'Ivoire (FRCI) to barracks; disarm unprofessional armed elements associated with the FRCI; equip the gendarmerie and police; protect opposition stakeholders; and end the illegal exploitation of land. Differences persist regarding the composition of the Independent Electoral Commission and the FPI request for a general amnesty. It will be important that such discussions continue to pave the way for political reconciliation, which remains essential to ensuring lasting peace and stability and to moving critical processes forward, including security sector reform and DDR.

Progress on the complex issue of reconciliation and social cohesion remains slow. The Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation Commission is struggling to complete its work and produce concrete results by 30 September, when its mandate expires. The national authorities have taken some steps to improve social cohesion, but local authorities lack sufficient resources to support such processes at their level.

As highlighted in the report before members, progress on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is essential to establish lasting peace and stability. DDR is a top priority for President Ouattara's Government. The establishment of the DDR Authority and the commencement of DDR operations are encouraging steps. To date, more than 4,000 former combatants have been disarmed and demobilized, some of whom are in the process of being employed in public-service positions. There is an expectation that progress will now accelerate more steadily. Following verification efforts by the Government, the estimated caseload of former combatants has been revised, from 110,000 to 64,000 combatants from both sides and among militias meeting the eligibility criteria.

In spite of the endorsement of the national security sector reform strategy by the National Security Council last year, the process remains at the planning stage. The reform of the security sector, while sensitive, is essential to ensure that Cote d'Ivoire has republican national security forces and a police and gendarmerie that fully assume their law-and-order responsibilities, ensure a secure and stable environment and protect civilian populations. It will be important that concrete steps be taken to fully implement the national security sector reform strategy.

In the light of those challenges and threats, the presence of UNOCI remains necessary, particularly with regard to its core priorities, namely, the protection of civilians, supporting security sector reform and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, as well as to help address border security challenges. However, adjustments to its structure, strengths and priorities are needed to meet the evolving situation on the ground. The Secretary-General therefore recommended reducing the authorized military strength of UNOCI, as previously decided by the Security Council, through the repatriation of one battalion by 31 July. At the same time, he recommended a further progressive reduction of two additional battalions by mid-2015. No reductions are recommended for the UNOCI police component.

Consequently, ongoing discussions with the Government on the development of benchmarks to measure and track progress towards the achievement of long-term stability in Côte d'Ivoire are an important opportunity for the Government and the United Nations to identify jointly minimum conditions that would allow UNOCI to begin drawing down. Those benchmarks will be included in the next report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire.

(*spoke in French*)

In conclusion, I should like to underscore the need to bring to justice those accused of having committed serious crimes, without regard for their status or political affiliation, so as to put an end to the vicious cycle of impunity and to build a culture of responsibility. There is also a need to step up efforts to promote reconciliation among communities and to address the underlying causes of conflict in the country.

The President: I thank Mr. Mulet for his briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Côte d'Ivoire.

Mr. Bamba (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): My delegation takes note of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2013/197) and would like to thank Mr. Edmond Mulet, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, for his outstanding briefing.

I should like to make several brief comments on certain points that my delegation deems essential.

As pointed out by Mr. Mulet, considerable progress has been made at all levels — especially with regard to stabilizing the security situation and as concerns the political dialogue, national reconciliation and economic revitalization — although major challenges remain that require pursuing the ongoing efforts.

With regard to the stabilization of the security situation, the Government is fully aware of the priority importance of managing the security situation given that consolidating the progress already made or anticipated in other sectors depends on stabilizing the security sector. Since the President of the Republic himself took control of the defence sector and with the establishment of the National Security Council, the security services are more consistent and effective in responding to threats and attacks. Such incidents have significantly declined, in particular thanks to the improved reorganization of the law-enforcement forces and the increased anticipation capacity of the intelligence services.

The second meeting of the consultative group on security sector reform, held on 3 April at the Office of the Prime Minister, facilitated the establishment of the Coordination Centre for Operational Decisions. The Centre has proved effective and useful by pursuing racketeering and by dismantling rebel barricades in the city of Abidjan, thereby improving the increasing control of the security situation. In addition, the senior commands of the national security forces and the municipal police have been reorganized. Similarly, a military planning law and a law on the administration and organization of national security are being drafted. All those efforts are aimed at establishing a national army.

Regarding disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), the Authority on DDR has begun its activities. We welcome the skill and effectiveness demonstrated by Mr. Fidèle Sarassoro as the head of that structure. Indeed, the number of people involved in DDR is now known and is estimated at 64,500 ex-combatants. The Government is taking steps to complete the database of ex-combatants, which, once finalized, can be consulted by all potential donor partners.

A first tranche of 2,000 ex-combatants have been disarmed and demobilized and are being trained to reintegrate as prison guards. Under the same plan, a second tranche of 2,000 others is expected to be reintegrated into the customs administration and the border police. That skills training and the reintegration should be accelerated thanks to the support of international partners, whose highly appreciated contributions are welcomed by the Ivorian Government.

Moreover, in that context, on 11 April Prime Minister Kablan Duncan presided over a signing ceremony of an agreement between the post-crisis assistance and the DDR programmes. The agreement will facilitate the funding of DDR activities, in particular with regard to raising awareness for the acceptance of ex-combatants by host communities, on the one hand, and by economic actors, or potential employers, on the other. That financing will also help to prepare ex-combatants for their rehabilitation and reintegration into the socioeconomic fabric. It will also assist community infrastructure rehabilitation projects for the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-combatants. Regarding the dozos, or traditional hunters, the census has started and is being undertaken jointly with the Ministry of Culture so that they can regain their cultural identity and traditions.

In terms of political dialogue and national reconciliation, dialogue with the opposition continues and is strengthening, in particular in the context of the permanent forum for dialogue. However, we must condemn the "empty chair" policy of the Front

populaire ivorien, which has just refused to take part in the local elections, scheduled for 21 April. Moreover, the current enthusiasm caused by the local elections affirms that the culture of democracy is irreversibly rooted in Ivorian society and strengthens the expression of individual freedoms.

Regarding national reconciliation, the Government, through Prime Minister Duncan, believes that "it is not an option but a common-sense obligation". The entire country is determined, with resolve and commitment, to dedicate the required energy to it. In that regard, the Government has undertaken to restore traditional chiefdoms so that they can play an increased role in conflict prevention, the preservation of social cohesion and reconciliation, in short, community peace, in particular in settling land disputes, given that a rural land reform law is being drafted.

With regard to justice and the fight against impunity, the National Commission of Inquiry on post-election events has submitted its conclusions. I would like to affirm that the judicial process has been initiated, in implementation of the recommendations, and that preliminary inquiries are under way. Justice is therefore taking place. However, it must be understood that the confidential inquiries require that we do not report further on that topic. In that connection, we would affirm the commitment of President Alassane Ouattara in the fight against impunity. Recently, during an official visit to Paris, he reiterated that "no one will be spared, but it will be at the pace of Ivorian justice, which is independent".

Regarding refugees, of the total 350,000 refugees two years ago, there remain only 60,000 today. Similarly, of the seven Ivorian refugee camps in Liberia, two have been closed and the remaining five are located along the border.

With regard to sexual violence, no new cases have been brought to the attention of the Government since 2012. That issue is given consideration not only in the overall context of the security sector reform but also by the ministries for justice, solidarity and women's affairs.

In economic terms, the signs of recovery are visible. Since the end of the post-election crisis, the entire country is under construction. Almost every month, we see construction work starting on bridges, roads, highways, hydroelectric dams, power plants and processing plants for agricultural products, to name but a few.

The national development plan for the period 2012-2015 reflects the great ambition of the President of the Republic to make Côte d'Ivoire an emerging country by 2020. To that end, the objective is to achieve strong and inclusive economic growth, of which investment is one of the pillars. We need to upgrade our economic and social infrastructure. It has become dilapidated and inadequate owing to a lack of maintenance during the long and difficult decade of crisis that our country has just experienced.

For the year 2012, the achievements are therefore much better than expected. The economic growth rate was 9.8 per cent, as compared with an initial forecast of 8.6 per cent. Continuing the efforts under way should allow us to achieve a growth rate of 9 per cent in 2013.

The redeployment of the mining administration to diamond-production areas is under way, and Côte d'Ivoire fully adheres to the Kimberley Process. A permanent representative office of the Kimberley Process in Côte d'Ivoire was established on 18 May 2012, and a focal point has been appointed. In that connection, Côte d'Ivoire participated in a meeting of the Kimberley Process, held in Washington, D.C., in June 2012.

In conclusion, regarding adjustments to the structure and troop strength of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire, I would like to point out that the Government of Côte d'Ivoire believes that the current level of troops is good. However, if the planned reductions are to be implemented, my delegation would like the withdrawal of the Blue Helmets to be compensated for by the deployment of qualitative resources, such as surveillance drones in the border area between Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 10.30 a.m.